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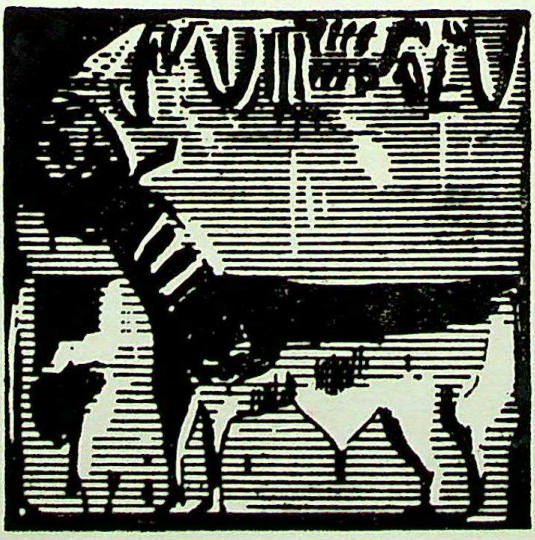

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXVI **March, 1950** **No. 1**

The Saiva Ācāryas of the Mattamayūra Clan

The Mattamayūra clan of Śaivism spread at one time over a large part of North India and sent its branches far into the south also. The first attempt to trace its history was that of Prof. R. D. Banerji who in his Memoir '*The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments*'[1] devoted a chapter to the Śaiva influence at the court of the Kalacuris of Tripurī. Banerji discovered at Chandrehe and Gurgi in the Rewah State two stone inscriptions, of which he included a transcript and a translation in that Memoir. Since then some more inscriptions of this sect have been discovered. The genealogy of the Śaiva *ācāryas* given by him also requires to be corrected in some cases. I therefore propose to give here a history of this clan from the material available to me.

The earliest inscription of this clan, which was discovered at Ranod in the Gwalior State, was edited by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 351. It gives the following earliest genealogy of the line. It is to be remembered that the genealogy is spiritual, *i.e.*, not from father to son, but from the *guru* to his disciple.

Kadambaguhādhivāsin (the Inhabitant of Kadambaguhā)
|
Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati (the Lord of Śaṅkhamaṭhikā)
|
Terambipāla (the Protector of Terambi)
|
Āmardakatīrthanātha (the Lord of Āmardakatīrtha)
|
Purandara

1 Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 23.

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Purandara
|
Kavacaśiva
|
Sadāśiva
|
Hṛdayaśiva
|
Vyomaśiva

We learn from the inscription that when the king, the illustrious Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated into the Śaiva faith, heard of the great holiness of the sage Puraṇdara, he attempted to bring him to his own country. He himself went to Upendrapura where the sage was practising penance and with great difficulty persuaded him to accede to his request. The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, the capital of the king whom he initiated into the Śaiva faith and established another *maṭha* at Raṇipadra (modern Ranod). The last *ācārya* mentioned in the genealogy, viz. Vyomaśiva, enlarged and repaired the *maṭha*, erected temples and excavated a magnificent tank at the same place.

Another inscription[2] of this line, discovered somewhere in the Gwalior State and now deposited in the Gwalior Museum, gives the same genealogy as above, except for the substitution of Rudraśiva for Āmardakatīrthanātha. It will be noticed that the personal names of the first four *ācāryas* in the genealogical list have not been given. The name of the fourth *ācārya* is thus known from the Gwalior Museum inscription. Again, this record carries the genealogy one generation further and mentions Patañgaśambhu as the disciple of Vyomaśambhu (or Vyomaśiva[3])

The Ranod inscription is undated, but on palaeographic grounds Dr. Kielhorn referred it to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.[4] The tenour of the description shows that the first four *ācāryas* of this clan were living at different places

2 For an account of this inscription I am indebted to Mr. M. B. Garde, late Director of Archæology, Gwalior State.

3 The members of this clan who belonged to the *Śaiva*, as distinguished from the *Pāśupata*, sect, had their names ending in *śiva or śambhu*. The names of the *Pāśupata* generally ended in *rāśi*.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 353.

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such as Kadambaguhā, Saṅkhamaṭhikā, Terambi and Āmardakatīrtha, far away from the country of Avantivarman and that Purandara was the first *ācārya* who came to Mattamayūra, the prince's town and founded a *maṭha* there, from which this clan derived its name *Mattamayūravaṁśa*[5]. Upendrapura where Purandara had been practising austerities has not been satisfactorily identified. Banerji called attention to a place of the same name which is mentioned as the headquarters of a *maṇḍala* in a grant of Naravarman, dated V. 1167 (A.D. 1110)[6]. This grant mentions Kadambapadraka as situated in the *pratijāgaraṇaka* (*parganā*) of Mandāraka in the *maṇḍala* of Upendrapura. None of these places has yet been identified. Mandāraka may be identical with Mundaira, about 15 miles north-east of Ujjain. The village Kamlikheḍā which lies only about a mile to the east may be ancient Kadambapadraka. Whether the latter is identical with Kadambaguhā, the traditional original home of the *ācāryas* of this clan, cannot be determined at present. We may in any case be certain that the earlier Śaiva *ācāryas* of this clan were living in Western Malwa. The places Kadambaguhā, Śaṅkhamaṭhikā, Terambi and Āmardaka, from which they derived their appellation must therefore be sought for in Malwa. Kielhorn identified Kadambaguhā with Kadwahā six miles to the south of Ranod and Terambi with Terahi, 5 miles to the south-east. At both these places some remains of Śaiva *maṭhas* and temples are still extant, but these identifications do not seem to be plausible in view of the description given in the Ranod inscription.

Avantivarman who brought the sage Purandara to his capital is not known from any dated record, but his age can be ascertained approximately on other evidence. The Bilhari stone inscription which belongs to the reign of the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva II (A.D. 890-990) gives the following genealogy of the *Mattamayūravaṁśa*—

5 The Mattamayūras are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as living in Rohitaka (modern Rohtak, 43 miles north-west of Delhi). See Sabhāparvan, adhyāya 32, vv. 4 f. They were of course not connected with this town of Mattamayūra.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, pp. 105 f.

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Rudraśambhu (lived at Kadambaguhā)
|
Mattamayūranātha (contemporary of Avanti)
|
Dharmaśambhu
|
Sadāśiva
|
Mādhumateya
|
Cūḍāśiva
|
Hṛdayaśiva
|
Aghoraśiva

The inscription tells us that Rudraśambhu belonged to the line of *siddhas* living at Kadambaguhā and that Mattamayūranātha communicated supreme splendour to the king Avanti. This description shows that the first two *ācāryas* of this line were identical with Āmardakatīrthanātha[7] and Purandara mentioned in the Ranod inscription. This identification is further supported by the aforementioned Gwalior Museum inscription which mentions Rudraśiva as the spiritual ancestor of Purandara.

The Bilhari inscription further tells us that Hṛdayaśiva was a contemporary of a king of Cedi (probably Laksmaṇarāja who is mentioned in the next verse) who invited him to his country[8]. He may therefore be referred to *circa* A.D. 950. Taking 25 years as the average duration of a generation, we can place Purandara *alias* Mattamayūranātha, the fifth ancestor of Hṛdayaśiva in *circa* A.D. 825.

Two more inscriptions of this clan, discovered at Chandrehe and Gurgi in the Rewah State, have been edited by R. D. Banerji[9]. They give the following genealogies of the Śaiva *ācāryas* who subsequently came to and settled down in the Cedi country—

7 Āmardaka is mentioned as the original habitation of the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Sopurīya-*santāna*. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 266.

8 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 259.

9 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, pp. 148 f.; vol. XXII, pp. 127 f.

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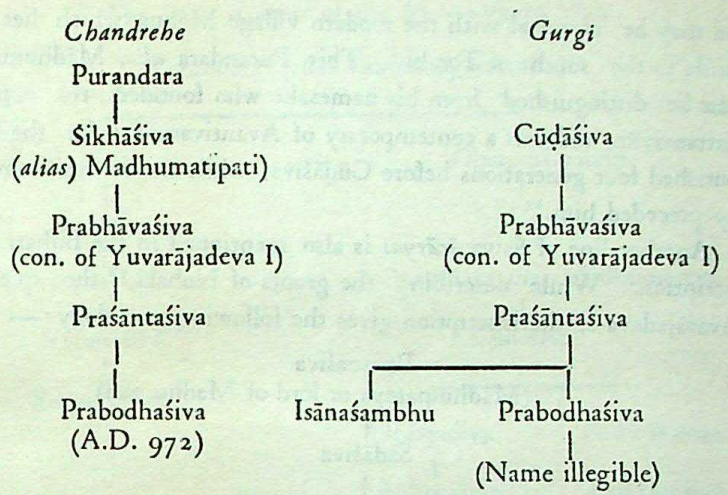
Chandrehe	*Gurgi*
Purandara	
Śikhāśiva (*alias*) Madhumatipati)	Cūḍāśiva
Prabhāvaśiva (con. of Yuvarājadeva I)	Prabhāvaśiva (con. of Yuvarājadeva I)
Praśāntaśiva	Praśāntaśiva
Prabodhaśiva (A.D. 972)	Isānaśambhu; Prabodhaśiva (Name illegible)



The genealogy in the Chandrehe inscription begins one generation earlier and that in the Gurgi inscription is carried one generation further; but otherwise the two genealogies are identical, Śikhāsiva being a synonym of Cūḍāśiva. The Chandrehe inscription is dated K. 724 (A.D. 972). It tells us that the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva, who must evidently be the first king of that name, invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and induced him to sanctify it by his feet. Prabhāvaśiva who flourished two generations before Prabodhaśiva (A.D. 972) must have lived in *circa* A.D. 925. He was thus a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva I (*circa* A.D. 915-945).

Comparing the genealogies in the Bilhari and Chandrehe inscriptions we find that Cūḍāśiva of the former must be identical with Śikhāśiva of the latter; for (i) the two names are synonyms and (ii) their disciples Hṛdayaśiva and Prabhāvaśiva lived in the same period, the latter being an elder contemporary of the former as he was invited by an earlier Cedi king viz. Yuvarājadeva I. The immediate ancestors of Cūḍāśva and Śikhāśiva *viz.*, Mādhumateya and Purandara must therefore be identical. Purandara evidently obtained the other name Mādhumateya because he lived at Madhumatī. His disciple Śikhāśiva is called Madhumatī-pati (the lord of Madhumatī) in the Chandrehe inscription. Madhumatī where these *ācāryas* flourished was probably situated on the Madhuveṇī[10] (Mohuvar of the maps)

10 The river Madhuveṇī is mentioned in an inscription at Terahi, dated V. 960 (A.D. 903). *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVII, pp. 201 f. Mahua has the remains of

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and may be identical with the modern village Mahua which lies only a mile to the south of Terahi. This Purandara *alias* Mādhumateya must be distinguished from his namesake who founded the *maṭha* of Mattamayūra and was a contemporary of Avantivarman; for the latter flourished four generations before Cūḍāśiva, while the former immediately preceded him.[11]

Another line of Śaiva *ācāryas* is also mentioned in the Bilhari stone inscription. While describing the grants of Nohalā,[12] the queen of Yuvarājadeva I, the inscription gives the following genealogy:—

Pavanaśiva
(Mādhumateya or lord of Madhumatī)
|
Sadāśiva
|
Īśvaraśiva
(contemporary of Yuvarājadeva I)

The known *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan may therefore be stated in the form of the following table—

Kadambaguhādhivāsin
|
Śaṅkhamaṭhikādhipati
|
Terambipāla
|
Āmardakatīrthanātha
(*alias* Rudraśiva)
|
Purandara
(*alias* Mattamayūranātha)

three temples two of which are dedicated to Mahādeva. They are assigned to the 7th century A.D. on the palæographic evidence of a Sanskrit inscription which exists on the porch of one of them. See M. B. Garde, *Archæology in Gwalior*, pp. 100 f. In ancient times Madhumatī must have comprised Terahi which possesses the remains of several temples and monasteries and a beautiful *toraṇa* gateway. See plate XXIII in *Archæology in Gwalior*. The river Madhumatī is mentioned in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava, Act* IX.

11 Banerji identified the two, which has vitiated the genealogy given by him on p. 112 of *Haihayas of Tripuri etc.* The first Purandara was called *Mattamayūranātha*, while the second was *Madhumatīpati*.

12 Nohalā donated some villages to Īśvaraśiva as *vidyādhara*. She had evidently obtained initiation from him.

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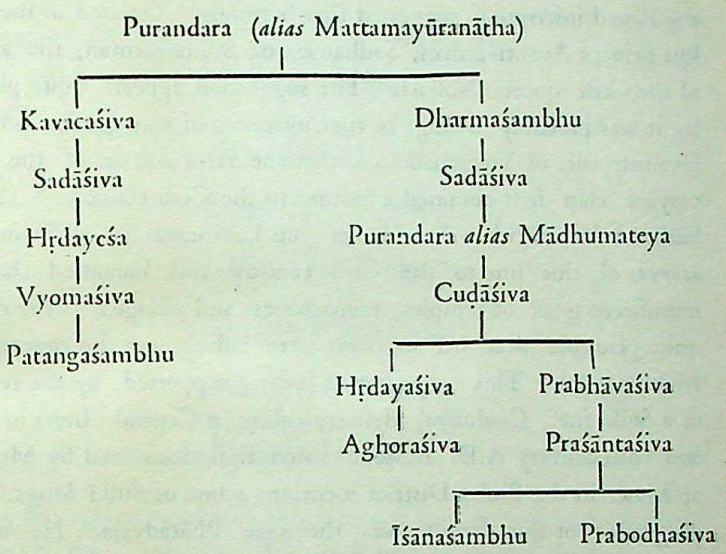

Pavanaśiva, Sadāśiva and Iśvaraśiva were contemporaries of Purandara, Cūḍāsiva and Prabhāvasiva, but whether they were disciples of Sadāśiva or some other *ācārya* of Madhumatī is not known.[13]

Mattamayūra, the chief seat of this clan has not yet been identified. It must have been situated not far from Terahi, Ranod and Mahua where inscriptions, temples and monasteries of this clan have been found. It may be identical with Kadwahā about 15 miles south of Ranod which possesses remains of a Hindu monastery and of not less than 14 Brahmanical temples, all belonging to the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. 'Such a large group of old temples is found at no other single place in the Gwalior State. Kadwaha thus deserves to be styled the Khajurahā or Bhuvaneśvara of Gwalior.[14] Such buildings could not have been erected without continuous royal patronage.

Inscriptions give no definite information about the dynasty and age of Avantivarman who ruled at Mattamayūra. From the evidence of Cedi inscriptions mentioning Śaiva *ācāryas* of this line, we have inferred above that Purandara who was invited by Avantivarman flourished in c. A.D. 825. This is therefore the approximate time of Avantivarman. As regards his dynasty, Kielhorn, while editing

13 This Iśvaraśiva may be identical with his namesake mentioned in a fragmentary inscription at Kudwaha. *An Rep. A.S. Gwalior for 1939*, p. 18.

14 *Archæology in Gwalior*, p. 95.

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the Ranod inscription suggested that he might be related to the Caulukya princes Avantivarman, Sadhanva and Siṁhavarman, the ancestors of the Cedi queen Nohalā. The suggestion appears quite plausible; for it was probably owing to the influence of this queen, who was a favourite wife of Yuvarājadeva I, that the Śaiva *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan first obtained a footing in the Cedi country.[15] She, her husband Yuvarājadeva I and her son Lakṣmaṇarāja all invited Śaiva *ācāryas* of this line to the Cedi country and honoured them with munificent gifts of temples, monasteries and villages. It is therefore quite plausible that her ancestors were ruling over the country round Mattamayūra. This suggestion is further supported by the references to a Śulkī (*i.e.*, Caulukya) dynasty ruling in Central India in the 9th and 10th century A.D. A stone inscription discovered by Mr. Garde at Maser in the Bhilsa District mentions a line of Śulkī kings.[16] The progenitor of this family was the sage Bhāradvāja. He was born from a drop of water which fell from the *añjali* of the Creator. Hence the royal family descended from him came to be known as Śulkī. This tradition differs from that described in the Bilhari inscription in connection with the ancestry of the Cedi queen Nohalā. The ancestors of Nohalā belonged to the Caulukya family which was so called, because its progenitor was born from the *Culuka* (handful of water) of the sage Bhāradvāja himself.[17] Both these traditions are no doubt fanciful, being intended to give a plausible explanation of the dynastic name Śulkī or Caulukya, but they leave no doubt that the two families were identical. The Maser inscription mentions some kings of this line such as Narasiṁha and Keśarin, and describes their wars with the Kalacuris, their neighbours on the east as well as with the rulers of Lāṭa (Gujarat), Kacchavāha and Hūṇa kings. Narasiṁha was a feudatory of Kṛṣṇarāja who is undoubtedly the same as Kṛṣṇapa, the younger brother of the Candella Dhaṅga. The latter flourished from *circa* A.D. 950 to A.D. 1005. These kings therefore undoubt-

15 An analogous instance is that of the Kalacuri queen Alhaṇadevī who, hailing from Mewad, placed the Pāśupata ascetic Rudrarāśi of Lāṭa (Gujarat) in charge of a temple of Śiva and made grants of some villages to him. *Ep. Ind.* vol. II, pp. 7 f.

16 *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Gwalior State, for 1930-31, p. 10.

17 Bilhari inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, pp. 257-58.

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edly flourished in the 10th century A.D. They evidently belonged to the same line as Avantivarman and Siṁhavarman. The known kings of this line may therefore be stated as follows[18]—

Avantivarman (A.D. 825)
|
Avanivarman (A.D. 850)
|
Sadhanva (A.D. 875)
|
Siṁhavarman (A.D. 900)
|
Narasiṁha (A.D. 950)
|
Keśarin (A.D. 975)

The subsequent history of this family is not known; but as shown elsewhere,[19] the Caulukyas of Gujarat who flourished from the 10th century onwards might have been related to these kings. That the Caulukyas of Gujarat were staunch supporters of Śaivism is well known.

The *maṭha* at Mattamayūra, being a renowned seat of Śaivism, supplied Śaiva pontiffs to monasteries in the Cedi country from time to time. As stated above, Yuvarājadeva I invited Prabhāvaśiva to his country and made munificent gifts to him. His wife Nohalā invited another Śaiva *ācārya* named Īśvaraśiva and received initiation from him. She donated several villages to him. Their son Lakṣmaṇarāja called Hṛdayaśiva from the *maṭha* of Madhumatī and made over to him the *maṭhas* of Vaidyanātha and Nauhaleśvara. Hṛdayaśiva placed his disciple Aghoraśiva in charge of the latter *maṭha*.

Kalacuri inscriptions mention some other Śaiva *ācāryas* who acted as *Rājagurus*. They also must have belonged to the Mattamayūra clan. A mutilated stone inscription found at Jubbulpur, which is dated K. 926 (A.D. 1174), mentions the following Śaiva *ācāryas*[20]—

18 The dates given against the royal names here are approximate.

19 See my article 'Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Cāmuṇḍarāja' in *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, (May 1945), pp. 90 f.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 309 f.

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Vimalaśiva
|
Vāstuśiva
|
Puruṣaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥkarṇa)
|
Śaktiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Gayākarṇa)
|
Kīrtiśiva (*Rājaguru* of Narasiṁha)
|
Vimalaśiva (*Rājaguru* of Jayasiṁha)

Two sons of Vimalaśiva became *sannyāsins*. The elder was Śāntaśiva, who was first the *Rājaguru* of Vijayasiṁha and later on of the Candella king Trailokyamalla when the latter annexed the Cedi country. The younger son was Nādaśiva. He executed a mortgage deed recorded in the Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla, dated K. 963 (A.D. 1212).

A branch of the Mattamayūra clan was founded at Bheraghat about 10 miles from Tripurī, the capital of the Kalacuris. A hypethral temple was erected on a hillock on the bank of the Narmadā, where sixty-four *yoginīs* with Gaṇapati were installed. Most of the *yoginīs* are of the time of Yuvarājadeva I, but some are of a much earlier, perhaps Kushan, age. The place seems to have been considered holy from very early times. The hypethral temple became known as *Goḷakī* or the Round Temple from its shape. The *maṭha* or monastery established by its side became well known as Goḷakī *maṭha*. The Malkapuram pillar inscription says that the Goḷakī *maṭha* was situated in the *Ḍāhala maṇḍala* between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmadā. Ḍāhala was the name of the home province of the Kalacuris with Tripurī, modern Tewar 6 miles from Jubbulpur, as its capital. Goḷakī *maṭha* was thus plainly identical with the *maṭha* at Bhera Ghat. This *maṭha* sent its *ācāryas* to distant places for the propagation of its faith. Viśvesvaraśambhu who had risen to the position of the chief teacher of this *maṭha* made an agrahāra called Viśveśvara Golakī in the Āndhra country as stated in the Malkapuram pillar inscription. The inscription gives the following spiritual genealogy of Viśveśvaraśambhu[22]:—

21 *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, pp. 1 f.

22 *JAHRS.*, vol. IV, pp. 158 f.

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Durvāsas
|
Sadbhāvaśambhu
(contem. of Yuvarājadeva I)
|
Somaśambhu
|
Vāmaśambhu
|
Śaktiśambhu
|
Kīrtiśambhu
|
Vimalaśiva
|
Dharmaśambhu
|
Viśveśvaraśambhu
(contem. of the Kākaṭiya king Gaṇapati, A. D. 1213-1249)

It will be noticed that the three *ācāryas* from Śaktiśambhu to Vimalaśiva are identical with those mentioned in the Jubbulpur inscription as *Rājagurus* of the Kalacuri kings Gayākarṇa, Narasiṁha and Jayasiṁha. Vimalaśiva hailed from the Kerala country, while his disciple's disciple Viśveśvaraśambhu was a resident of Pūrvagrāma in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍhā in Gauḍa. This shows plainly that the Goḷakī *maṭha* attracted learned and pious men from distant places. Viśveśvaraśambhu who had attained the position of the head of the Goḷakī *maṭha* afterwards repaired to the Āndhra country where he received great honours at the Kākaṭīya court. He initiated the Kākaṭīya king Gaṇapati in the Śaiva faith and received munificent gifts of lands and villages from him as well as from his daughter Rudrāmbā. Branches of the Goḷakī *maṭha* were established at several other places in Cuḍappa, Kurnool, Guntur and north Arcot Districts of the Madras Presidency.

Another branch of the Mattamayūra clan was established at Karkaroṇi which has not yet been identified. Some *ācāryas* of this branch settled down in Koṅkaṇ. A copper-plate inscription of Raṭṭarāja of the Śilāhāra dynasty, dated in the Śaka year 930 (A.D. 1008) and discovered at Kharepatan[23], records a grant of land made to the *ācāryas* of this branch.

23 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. III, pp. 292 f.

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Kalacuri inscriptions afford us glimpses into the lives of these *ācāryas*. The Jubbulpur stone inscription dated K. 926 describes the lineage, learning and mode of life of the great Śaiva *ācārya* Vimalaśiva, the *Rājaguru* of the Kalacuri king Jayasiṁha.[24] He was born in a family of great Vedic scholars renowned as much for charitable and religious works as for learning. Vimalaśiva studied the Vedas, observed religious vows and visited holy places in the different parts of India such as Prabhāsa, Gokarṇa and Gayā. He then received initiation from Kīrtiśiva of the Goḷakī *maṭha*, the *Rājaguru* of Narasiṁha. He was employed by the king Jayasiṁha in various affairs of State, but never neglected his *nitya* and *naimittaka* religious duties. He was renowned for his charities and erected temples, *maṭhas*, charitable feeding houses (*sattras*), dwellings for Brāhmaṇas and gardens. He built a large temple of Śiva under the name of Kīrtīśvara in honour of his *guru* Kīrtiśiva. For the maintenance of the temple the Kalacuri king Jayasiṁha donated several villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse, in K. 926 (A.D. 1174).

Similar glowing accounts of the religious and charitable activities of other Śaiva *ācāryas* are given by several Kalacuri inscriptions. These *ācāryas* received honour and patronage at the hands of ruling kings. The *Rājagurus* are mentioned among royal officials to whom grants of lands and villages recorded in copper-plate charters are communicated. The Malkapuram pillar inscription records the tradition that Sadbhāvaśambhu of the Goḷakī *maṭha* received a gift of three lakhs of villages from the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva (I). If correct, this would indicate that the king assigned to him one third of the total revenue of his home province of Ḍāhala which, according to tradition, comprised nine lakhs of villages. Though this princely gift has not been recorded in any Cedi inscriptions, there is no doubt that the Kalacuris liberally patronised the *maṭhas*. Both the Bilhari and Gurgi inscriptions record the donations of several villages for the maintenance of temples and monasteries, made by successive Kalacuri kings. The former inscription mentions besides, several taxes and rates levied on oil mills, elephants and horses, vegetables, betel leaves and other articles sold in the local markets which were assigned for the maintenance of these religious and charitable institutions.

24 *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, pp. 309 f.

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Many of these *āçāryas* were engaged in austerities and therefore preferred to stay in solitary retreats far from the crowd. For them monasteries were built on the banks of holy rivers where they could practise meditation in peaceful surroundings. A graphic description of the quiet life led by these Śaiva *ācāryas* is given in the following verse of the Chandrehe inscription[25]:—

स शोणनदसङ्गमे भ्रमरशैलमूलेतुलं
प्रियालवनसंकुले फलमृणालकन्दाशनः ।
चकार विदितं जनैर्मुनिसखः प्रशान्ताश्रमं
खपादपदपंक्तिभिः पवितभूतलो यः कृती ॥

The monasteries attached to temples were seats of learning where the Vedas and Śāstras were taught, as well as charitable houses where the poor and the needy were fed and hospitals where the sick and the maimed were cared for. A graphic description of the religious and charitable activities of the Viśveśvara Goḷakī *maṭha* founded by the Śaiva *ācārya* Viśveśvara is given in the Malkapuram inscription on which the following account[26] is based.

'He (Viśveśvaraśambhu) founded there (in the *agrahāra* village) a temple, a monastery, a college, a chaultry for the distribution of food, a maternity home and a hospital. He settled there sixty families of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas and granted them altogether 120 *puttis* of lands for their maintenance. They were given full powers for the disposal of these lands in any way they liked. The remaining lands were divided into three parts. The income of one part was granted for the maintenance of the temple of Śiva, the income of the second was allotted for meeting the expenditure of the College and the Śaiva monastery, and that of the third was reserved for meeting the expenditure of the maternity home, the hospital and the feeding house. Altogether eight professors—three for teaching the Vedas viz. Ṛg, Yajus and Sāman, and five for teaching logic, literature and Āgama—were appointed for the College. One very able physician and one expert clerk were appointed apparently for the hospitals .... The village was provided with a goldsmith, a copper-smith, a stone cutter, a bamboo-worker, a potter, a blacksmith, an architect, a carpenter, a barber and an artisan. ... All the employees referred to above were granted

25 *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXI, p. 149.
26 *History of Bengal,* vol. I, pp. 684 f. See also *JAHRS.*, vol. I, pp. 158 f.

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lands for their maintenance. Their sons and grandsons etc. were given the right of ownership of these lands. Some lands were granted for meeting the expenses of food and clothing of the Śaiva ascetics, Kālānanas, Pāśupatas and the students, and also for meeting the cost of supplying food to all, irrespective of caste, who came to the village. Viśveśvaraśambhu laid down that the Goḷakī line would be appointing an *ācārya* who would be in charge of all the charitable establishments of the village, *viz.*, the temple, the feeding house and the monastery. The *Ācārya* must possess the required qualifications, *viz.*, he must be a virtuous and a learned Brāhmaṇa, well conversant with Śaivism and its mysteries. He would be drawing in return for his service one hundred *niṣkas* as his fee. The whole Śaiva community of the village was given the power of appointing a new *ācārya* if the existing one was found negligent in his duty or was guilty of misbehaviour.'

An idea of the prosperous condition of the *maṭhas* of these Śaiva *ācāryas* can be obtained from the following graphic description of the *maṭha* at Raṇipadra[27]—

स्फारैर्धान्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवहैर्न्निःशेषमन्तर्ब्बहि-
स्तत्त्वगत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गमैर्म्मदभरोद्वृत्तैश्च गर्जद्गजैः ।
स्वस्थानस्य विशीर्णविद्रुतमठस्योद्दामलक्ष्मीभृतो
भूभागोत्तपसा पुनर्भवरुचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥

There were four well known sects of Śaivism *viz.*, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāruka (or Kāruṇika) Siddhāntin and Kāpālika. The *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra *maṭha* belonged to the Śaiva, as distinguished from the Pāśupata, sect. According to tradition Śiva first initiated Brahmā, the Creator, in this faith after a sacrifice in Dāruvana.[28] From the latter sprang this line of Śaiva *ācāryas*. In some inscriptions the first *ācārya* is said to have been the great sage Durvāsas. His spiritual descendants called themselves *Saiddhāntikas*, *i.e.*, followers of the true doctrine. Madhumatī in Central India is called the abode of the *Saiddhāntikas*.[29] The *siddhāntas* were revealed by Maheśvara. According to this sect there are three principles *viz.*, the lord (*pati*), the individual soul (*paśu*) and the fetters (*pāśa*). The whole system has four *pādas viz.*, *vidyā* or right knowledge of the three *padārthas*, *kriyā* or ceremonies consisting of *dīkṣā* (initiation) etc., *yoga* or medita-

27 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 29.

28 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 355.

29 मधुमतो धाम सैद्धान्तिकानाम् । *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, p. 130.

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tion and *caryā* or discipline consisting in doing what is prescribed and avoiding what is prohibited.[30] *Caryā* and *Yoga* are regarded as important as *vidyā*. The *ācāryas* of Madhumatī are described as having excellent discipline.[31] Most of the inscriptions of this school contain descriptions of the yogic practices of the *ācāryas*. These led to emancipation (*siddhi*). The *ācāryas* who attained emancipation were called *Siddhas*. Kadambaguhā, the original home of the Mattamayūra school is called the venerable abode of the line of *Siddhas*.

Though the *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were followers of the Śaiva school, they were not bigoted. They studied various orthodox and even heterodox systems. Rudraśiva, the *guru* of the Kalacuri king Jājjalladeva I is described as conversant with the *siddhāntas* of his own and other schools as well as with the authoritative works of Diṅnāga and others.[32] In the Gurgi inscription the Śaiva *ācārya* Praśāntaśiva is said to have spent his days in the company of meritorious persons who were adept in the philosophy of the *Pāñcārthikas* or Paśupatas. There were several Pāśupata *ācāryas* living in the Kalacuri kingdom.[33] One of them *viz.*, Rudrarāśi who came from Lāṭa was placed in charge of the temple of Śiva under the name of Vaidyanātha and the *maṭha*, the hall of teaching, gardens etc. attached to it which the Kalacuri dowager queen Alhaṇadevī had erected at Bheraghat.[34] Another Pāśupata *ācārya* was Bhāvabrahman who also had hailed from Lāṭa and who erected a temple of Śiva at Tripurī, modern Tewar near Jubbulpur.[35]

The Śaivas, like the Sāṅkhyas, are dualistic. They hold that Śiva, the Supreme soul and the jīvas or individual souls are distinct from one another. The latter are many, all-pervasive and eternal. Śiva has five activities *viz.*, creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, concealment and benefaction. He is the operative cause of the universe, while Pradhāna is the material cause of it. When the individual soul is released from fetters by the grace of Śiva, it becomes

30 *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), p. 175.

31 Cf. *Saccary-ācārya-varyāḥ* in the Gurgi inscription, l. 4.

32 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 36.

33 *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 131. The first words in l. 20 imperfectly read by Banerji are *pāñcārthika-tat(tt)varjñana-vicakṣaṇaiś=ca*.

34 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 13. 35 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 209 f.

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like Śiva himself, having attained the powers of knowledge and action, but being dependent on Śiva it has no power of creation.[36]

Several *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan were authors of learned works. Vyomaśiva, who flourished at Raṇipadra was probably the author of *Vyomavatī*, a commentary on Praśastapāda's *bhāṣya* on the Vaiśeśika sūtras.[37] According to Vardhamāna, Vyomaśiva flourished before Udayana (*circa* A.D. 984). As he was the fourth spiritual descendant of Purandara (c. A.D. 825) he might have flourished in c. A.D. 925. This date squares with the statement of Vardhamāna. It is again corroborated by the following verse in the Gwalior Museum inscription describing Vyomaśambhu (or Vyomaśiva)—

मुनिसूर्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन येन लोकस्य ।
प्रकटयतेह पदार्थं सन्तमसच्च सन्तमसम् ॥

'He (Vyomaśambhu), by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real *padārtha* (a catagory of the Vaiśeṣika system) and also the unreal gross ignorance, even as the sun by his light reveals the existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness.'

Somaśambhu, another *ācārya* who flourished at the Goḷaki *maṭha*, wrote the *Somaśambhu-paddhati*, which comprehensively dealt with all Śaiva *āgamas*.[38] It is not known whether this is the same work as that ascribed to Somaśambhu, from which Mādhava quoted some verses in his treatment of the Śaiva system in the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*.[39] Many more works of this system must have been composed by the *ācāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan, but they have now passed into oblivion.[40]

V. V. Mirashi

36 For further exposition of the Śaiva system, see *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* (Bhandarkar Institute ed.), pp. 174 f. and R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism* etc., pp. 124 f.

37 This identification was first ingeniously suggested by Mr. Dasaratha Sarma, in *IHQ.*, vol. X, pp. 165 f. It has turned out to be correct.

38 *JAHRS.*, vol. IV, p. 157.

39 *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, p. 184.

40 Several years ago Mr. S. N. Sen, Keeper of the Nepal Museum, kindly sent me an extract from a palm-leaf MS. in his possession which seems to be a Śaiva work named *Paṅjikā* composed by Brahmaśambhu who belonged to the Karkaroṇi branch of the Mattamayūra clan. The MS. was written in Ś. 858 (A.D. 936). This is one of the early works of this system and deserves to be published early.

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Foreign Notices of Achaemenid India

The Persian conquest of India unlocked to the Greeks a new world with a new people which is reflected in Greek literature from the sixth century B.C. By the middle of the fifth century, Herodotus, whom Cicero dubbed as the Father of History, was able to offer considerable information about that distant land. Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, then dependent upon the Persians, about the year 484 B.C. He was thus born a Persian subject and was interested in the affairs of Persia and Egypt. He compiled a history of the Achaemenids and of the Scythians, but as Keane has observed "his knowledge of India was meagre and most vague. He knew that it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian empire towards the east, but of its extent and exact position he had no proper conception."[1] An analysis of his account shows that his knowledge of India was derived from the following sources: —

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I. The information that he was able to collect for himself in course of his travel.
II. The information supplied to him by the Persians.[2]
III. The work left by Scylax of Caryanda.[3]
IV. The narrative of Hecataeus of Miletus.[4]

I

Herodotus was a great traveller and his travelling seems to have been chiefly accomplished between his twentieth and thirty-seventh years, though the dates are difficult to be determined. He visited the Persian capital Susa and advanced as far as the land of the Scythians in Central Asia. "At the most moderate estimate his travels covered a space of 31 degrees of longitude, or 1,700 miles, and 24 of latitude or nearly the same distance." We may presume that in course of his travels, Herodotus may have heard of the Indians, but we do not know exactly whether he did

1 Keane, *Evolution of Geography*, pp. 5-6. The work of Herodotus has been translated into English and other languages: see the English translation of A. D. Godley, Herodotus, in Loeb Classical Library, 4 Vols.

2 Herodotus explicitly refers to the Persians while giving his account of gold-digging ants.

3 Herodotus, IV. 44.

4 *Ibid.*, V. 36, 125; VI. 137.

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see the Achaemenid epigraphs. Macan thinks that "the Achaemenid records which have within living memory greatly modified our knowledge of the rise and progress of the Persian power were inaccessible to Herodotus. but his account of that Empire and its organisation must go back, at second or third hand, to such documents and written records."[5]

II

The documents and written records of the Persians throwing light on the then India may be divided into two groups, the Persian inscriptions and the Avesta. The references to India in the Achaemenid epigraphs have already been noted and it is clear from them that they betray nowhere any knowledge of the interior of India. This closely agrees with the account of India as preserved in the Avesta. The date of the Avesta is a moot question among the scholars, but there is unanimity on the point that the Vendidad is the earliest part of the work and may have been pre-Achaemenid. In the first chapter of the Vendidad (I. 19), we find a list of the *"sixteen countries"* said to have been created by Ahura Mazda. One of the sixteen names is Hapta-Hindu, or Sapta Sindhu as occurring in the *Ṛgveda*. Once in that Indian work the term is used to denote a particular country, elsewhere the expression refers to the seven rivers themselves. Max Müller thinks that the expression "Sapta-Sindhu" refers to the five streams of the Punjab, with the Indus and the Sarasvatī, while Ludwig, Lassen and Whitney hold that the Kubhā should be substituted for the last named river.[6] We prefer the latter interpretation, for the Kubhā (the Kabul river) must have been better known to the Iranians than the far off Sarasvatī of the Amballa region, while, on the other hand, the Khoaspes a tributary of the Kabul, is actually mentioned in the Avesta. The later Pahlavi commentators of the Avesta of the Sassanid age interpreted the term Hapta-Hindu in a different manner. They stated that the country was called Hapta-Hindu, because there were seven rulers over it. It is possible that there were seven rulers over the land of the Indus at the time that intervened between the fall of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and the rise of the Guptas.

The statement of the Vendidad that Hapta Hindu was one of the countries created by the great Ahura Mazda seems to point to the fact (a)

5 *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. V., p. 416.
6 *Vidic Index*, vol. II. s.v. Sapta-Sindhu.

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that the religion of Ahura Mazda prevailed at least in some portion of the country, and (b) that the people of the region, or at least a section of it, had Iranian blood in them. This reminds us of the statement of Xerexes in his Persepolis epigraph that he suppressed the worship of the Daivas and introduced that of Ahura Mazda in its place, while traces of the Iranian blood in the people of the Indo-Iranian borderland is admitted by all the anthropologists.

References to places etc. of the Indian borderland occurring in the Avesta have been fully discussed by Sir A. Stein in a paper in the *Academy*, May, 16, 1885. These interesting references are found mainly in the Pahlavi gloss of the Sassanid times, and hence fall outside the period with which we are dealing. It may be noted, however, that in the Meher Yasht (104) and Yasna (LVII. 29), we find the word Hindu instead of Hapta-Hindu—a fact which shows that laterly, the name Hindu or India was not confined to the country watered by the Indus, but was extended to the region other than this.

III

Herodotus utilised for his account of the Indo-Iranian borderland the work of Scylax of Caryanda, possibly the first Greek historian to write anything about India (*c.* 515 B.C.). The work of Scylax is unfortunately lost, though references to it occur in the works of later writers. In his *History*, Herodotus has preserved the following account of him.

"A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyce, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westwards, they arrived in the thirteenth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented the sea."[7]

7 Herodotus, IV. 44.

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We have already referred to this account while discussing the conquest of Hindu by Darius. Though unfortunately we do not know the contents of the work left by Scylax, it seems certain that it did not contain the account of his voyage, for we do not hear anything of it in connection with the voyage of Alexander. It possibly contained miraculous and absurd stories about the people of India, and Aristotle's reference to it, though important, is of little value for the study of ancient Indian History or Geography.

The above account of Herodotus, in any case, shows that Scylax actually came to India, and started his sailing from "the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyce." Sir Aurel Stein identifies "Pactyce with Caspatyrus" with north-east Afghanistan; the Afghans still call themselves Pakhtun or Pashtuns (cf. Pathans), while Caspatyrus, according to Stein, is "evidently" Kabul. Thus the *janapada* of "Pactyce" with Caspatyrus" may denote the Pashtu-speaking area, which was Iranian even before Scylax undertook his voyage. According to Grierson, "Pāshtō is spoken in British territory in the Trans-Indus districts as far as Dera Ismail Khan. Northwards it extends into the Yusufzai country, Bajaur, Swat and Bunir, and through the Indus Kohistan at least as far as the river Kandia, where the Indus takes its great turn to the south. In the northern parts of Swat, Bunir and Kohistan, many of the inhabitants speak in their home languages of Dardic origin, but Pashto is universal as a means of general intercommunication. In British territory, its eastern boundary may roughly be taken as coinciding with the course of the Indus.....After entering the district of Dera Ismail Khan, the eastern boundary gradually slopes away from the Indus, leaving the lower parts of the valley in possession of Landha and some thirty miles south of the town of Chandhwan it meets Balochi and turns to the west."[8] This whole area was thus Iranian at a very early age.

Stein has accepted Herodotus' account of Scylax's voyage with some modification. He thinks that in his account Herodotus has confused the Kabul river with the Indus, and so makes the latter wrongly flow east. But it is difficult to agree with this because the Kabul river is not navigable, and further the location of Caspatyrus is not yet definitely settled. While some scholars think that "the town may have been situated

8 *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 105 ff.

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near the lower end of the Cophen (now Kabul) river before it joins the Indus," others prefer its identification with the Western Kashmir. Herodotus' idea, that the river Indus flowed towards the east, and that beyond that corner of India which the Persians knew there was nothing but a great desert towards the east, is no doubt derived from Hecataeus of Miletus, to whom Herodotus is deeply indebted for his account of India and the Indians.

IV

Persian documents and the work of Scylax possibly formed the basis of the Indian account of the Geography of Hecataeus of Miletus which was composed *c.* 500 B.C. Hecataeus tried to dissuade the Ionians from revolt against Persia (*Herodotus,* V. 36, 125), and in 494, when they were obliged to sue for terms, he was one of the ambassadors to the Persian satrap, whom he persuaded to restore the constitution of the Ionic cities (*Diod.* Sic X. 25). His *"Survey of the World"* is said to have comprised the accounts of the two continents, Europe and Asia, and hence incidental references to the Indian sub-continent. Dr. Wells in the *Journal of the Hellenic Studies* (1909) XXIX, pt. 1 has questioned the authenticity of the work, and Herodotus also has controverted his statements (VI. 137). It has been supposed, however, that "it was to the stimulous of this book that Herodotus owed his love of travelling and his interests in strange lands."

The *Fragments* 174-179 in *Fragmenta Historicorum* of C. Müller show that Hecataeus' knowledge of India stopped on the river Indus, "beyond which was a great desert of sand," evidently the Thar desert of Western India. He speaks of the "Indoi," possibly identical with the Hi(n)du, of the Gandarii and Caspapyros. In fact, he calls Caspapyros a Gandaric city. Those who identify Caspapyros or Caspatyros with the Western Kashmir may point out in this connection that in the Mahāvaṃśa Kashmir is constantly associated with Gandhāra, while the Jātakas mention the countries separately as comprising two Kingdoms but ruled by a single king.

Hecataeus mentions the name of another Indian people, the Kalatiai, and a city of India called Argante. None, however, admit of proper identifications. The Greek geographer, further, states that a tribe called the Opiai "dwell by the river Indus, and there is a royal fort. Thus far the Opiai extend, and beyond there is a desert as far as the Indians."

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The tribe called the Opiai evidently lived in the reign of Opian which was the capital of ancient Kāpiśa country, where there was a fort of the great King Darius, as shown by the Column III of the Behistun inscription already noted. Further, in Greek records, this is the earliest mention of the "Indians" by name. There is also a doubtful reference to the Indians in the plays of Aeschylus.

The work of Hecataeus is lost and it survives only in the quotations of the later writers. He possessed a scepticism about the Greek traditions, and this is best expressed in the opening sentence of *Inquiries:* "This is the story of Hecataeus of Miletus. What I write here is what I consider true; for the tales of the Greeks appear to me to be many and ridiculous."

* * * * *

Having thus given an account of the sources utilised by Herodotus for his account of India, we may now proceed to analyse its contents. Two questions arise at the outset; (a) what knowledge had Herodotus of the Indians? and (b) how far his account of the Indo-Persian empire is authentic?

(A)

Herodotus thinks that the Indians are the most remote nation living in the east, and beyond them is a desert. Herodotus knows nothing of the Ganges valley, nor does he know of the great Himālayan chains. He knew, however, that "there are many nations of Indians, and they do not speak the same language as each other; some of them are nomads, and other not. Some inhabit the marshes of the river, and feed on raw fish, which they take going out in boats made of reeds; one joint of the reed makes a boat. These Indians wear a garment made of rushes, which, when they have cut the reed from the river and beaten it, they afterwards paint like a mat and wear it like a corselet."

Thus Herodotus knew that "there are many nations of the Indians" and he enumerates some of them—

(*i*) "Other Indians, living to the east of these (those enumerated above) are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaeans."

(*ii*) "Other Indians have the following different custom: they never kill anything that has life, nor sow anything....."

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(*iii*) Herodotus knows further of the Indians who "are situated very far from the Persians, towards the south, and were never subject to Darius." From their description as given by Herodotus, some scholars think that the Dravidians are here referred to.

(*iv*) "There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyce, settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians."

Thus it appears that within the narrow limit of his "Indian," Herodotus knew the different classes of the Indian peoples, even of those who lived beyond the empire of the Achaemenids. As Bunbury says "The vague idea that all to the east of the Indians was a sandy desert probably arose in the first instance from the real fact of the occurrence of a broad desert tract to the east of the fertile lands of the Indus, and would be confirmed by vague reports that similar deserts were found also to the east of Bactria and the adjoining countries." Herodotus gives an interesting account of the gold-digging ants which threw up mounds of gold-dust in the desert. "In this desert, then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes." Wilson points out that mention is often made in *Mahābhārata* of "that gold which is dug up by the pipīlakas (ants) and is therefore called Pippīlikas (ant-gold)." We shall have the occasion to comment on this account in the next section. Let us here say a few words about the different Indian peoples mentioned by the great historian.

Herodotus knew that "the Indians are by far the greatest multitude of all the peoples of men whom we know," but he had hardly any knowledge of the civilised Indians of the interior, specially of the Gangetic valley. His Indians who lived in the swamps of the river and fed on raw fish, "which they take going out in boats made of reeds," seems to have been the inhabitants of the lower Indus valley, for Lassen points out that in the Mianwali district "mats and baskets are still made from the reeds of the river."

The reference to cannibals, who are called Padaeans, is indeed interesting. Cannibalism may have existed, in some form or other, among the Gonds but there is absolutely no proof of its prevalence in the area which came under the knowledge of Herodotus. It is, on the other hand, not possible to equate the term Padaeans with any Indian name.

Herodotus further observes that the Indians living near the lands of the Pactyce and Caspatyrus were like the Bactrians in their mode of life.

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We have already indicated that this area was more Iranian than Indian even before the Achaemenid days, and this was partly because of the constant flow of nomads from beyond the Indian frontier. Thus the term Bālhika, which signifies also Bactria, became another name for the region of the Uttarāpatha. In the Great Epic, a powerful King of the Bālhikas Darada by name is called a mahāsura or a great Asura and this Bālhika-Darada is praised highly by Śisupāla.[9] This shows indirectly the prevalence of the Bactrian culture in Dardistan and the adjoining areas.

The term Bālhika has sometimes, however, been confounded with Bāhika or the region where the Sindhu or Indus flows with its five tributaries. Thus Nīlakaṇṭha says, "*Bālhikaḥ: Pañcānāṃ Sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṃ nadīnāṃ yatra saṃgamaḥ: Bālhikā nāma te deśāḥ.*"[10] In the Meherauli Pillar Inscription of King Candra the term Bālhika seems to have been used in this sense.

Herodotus' account of the Indians, who killed their own relatives on the approach of old age, seems to be a transference of Sogdian custom on the Indian soil, for we learn it on the authority of Plutarch that Alexander taught the Sogdians not to kill their fathers, while Strabo quotes Onesicritus to the effect that the people of Bactria had reared dogs who were trained to eat the dying, and Alexander, after he had conquered the country, put a stop to this practice.[11]

(B)

Let us now see how far Herodotus' account of the Indo-Achaemenid empire is authentic. We have already doubted the truth of the statement that Darius conquered the region of Sind after the exploration of the river Indus by Scylax and his party. It is more probable that Scylax started on his voyage after the conquest had been actually accomplished. Secondly, it has also been stated that the tribute list of Herodotus dates from his own time i.e., that of Artaxerexes II, and not from the time of Darius as it professes to be.

According to Herodotus, Darius received every 360 talents in gold-dust as the tribute of his Indian satrapy, and this was the largest amount paid by any other province of the empire. For an arid region like Sind

9 *Mbh.*, I. 67. 58; II. 44. 8. 10 Nilakaṇṭha on *Mbh.*, V. 39. 80.
11 Plutarch, Moralia, 328 c; Strabo, XI. 517.

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this seems to be an utter impossibility, and Smith thinks that owing to the changes in the courses of the rivers since ancient times, "vast tracts in the Sind and the Punjab, now desolate, were then rich and prosperous." The statement seems to go too far, for as Cousens has shown, there were many different channels of the Indus, often altering and we do not really know anything.'[12] A great geological change seems to have hardly occurred to alter the character of the soil.

Again, if Arrian is to be believed the party of Alexander did not find any gold worth mentioning in India.[13] Megasthenes says that the Indians did not know even how to separate gold from dross. Though this statement is not strictly correct for we have references to gold and gold-coins in the Vedic literature it shows at any rate the scarcity of gold in the land. The epigraphs of Darius themselves also point to this direction. For building his palace at Susa, Darius imported ivory and teak-wood only from India, while he had to procure gold from the distant satrapies of Sardis and Bactria. Had gold been abundant in India, Darius must have procured it along with wood and ivory.

Herodotus speaks of the desert in India where ants dug out gold, but from his account it is difficult to determine the location of this sandy tract. Megasthenes informs us that this desert was of no great extent, and that the Derdai (Dards of Dardistan), a great tribe of the Indians, lived near this gold-producing region. This would point to Bactria, wherefrom Darius also procured his gold Thus the gold-producing desert of India is a myth, and the high amount of gold-tribute paid by India, as maintained by Herodotus, cannot be true.

Herodotus' statement in X. 3. as to the number of the Indians is implicitly contradicted by Thucydides (II. 97. 5-6), who says that no nation in Europe or Asia could be compared with the Scyths. As Godley says, Thucydides' narrow Hellenism involves him in a double error: first, he does not know that the Scyths proper were a comparatively small race, and secondly, he ignores the great population of the east of which Herodotus has dimly heard.

* * * * *

The *History* of Herodotus stands in great contrast to the work of Ctesias "which is full of old wives' tales" and contains very little in-

12 *MASI.*, no. 46, pp. 3-6. 13 Arrian, V. 4. 4.

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portant for the study of Indo-Persian history. Ctesias of Cnidus in Caria was in his early life a physician to Artaxerexes II, and he accompanied the Achaemenid monarch in his campaign against his brother Cyrus the younger. He composed a work called *Persica* in the Ionian dialects, in opposition to Herodotus, and it is presumed that it was based on the Persian archives. The *Persica* consisted of 23 books containing accounts of rivers, of the Persian revenues, of India and of a history of Assyria and Persia. The work, however, is unfortunately lost, though we possess an abridgment of it by Photius, and fragments in Athenaeus, Plutarch and specially Diodorus whose second book is mainly based on it. His *Indica,* however, is of little value, being full of absurd stories, and Prof. Bevan thinks that "his contribution seems to have been the most worthless of all those which went to make up the Classical tradition."[14]

S. Chattopadhyaya

14 *CHI.*, vol. I. p. 39.

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Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah

One of the enigmas of medieval Indian history is Nasar-ud-Din Khusru. His origin cannot be easily determined, his earlier career is unknown, the nature and the extent of revolution which his accession to the throne brought about is shrouded in mystery. It is time an attempt was made to state the questions that arise in this connection even though it may not always be possible to get all the answers.

Till recently it was possible to dismiss the whole episode as the story of 'a wretch' who had bewitched Mubarak and thereby succeeded ultimately in desecrating the throne of Delhi by occupying it.[1] The earliest published account we had, was that of Barni. It was added to and embellished later on by Badauni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta. Eliot's translations provided the last stick that broke the camel's back.

Khusru was described as a Parwari (scavenger) from Gujarat enslaved and converted to Islam during Ala-ud-Din's reign.[2] He might have been brought to the Court between 1299 and 1306 A.D., the dates of the two invasions of Gujarat. The next we hear of him is when he was conducting the government of the country as Prime Minister of Mubarak and successfully leading the royal armies in the south. When we come to the end of Mubarak's reign, Khusru changed colour and became 'a vile wretch' till he ultimately ascended the throne. Then he became something still more sinister till Ghias-ud Din Tughlaq had him killed.

As it was, this account left two things unexplained. How was it that a beautiful youngman with his comely face alone to recommend him to his master carried on successfully the burden of administration during Mubarak's reign? Even if we dismiss Barni's statement that there was neither rebellion, nor Mughal invasions, nor famine nor floods to trouble the people during Mubarak's reign as too sweeping a generalization, the fact remains that whatever disturbances there were in the country, Mubarak was easily successful in putting an end to them. It is a great tribute to Khusru's talents that Mubarak was able to keep the entire south under him besides the whole of northern India. Not a square inch of territory

1 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, 120.
2 *CHI.*, III, 120.

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did he lose to any aspiring rebel. If anything, he riveted Delhi's authority all the more firmly on Gujarat, Maharashtra and the south. When we remember that Mubarak demolished in its entirety the all too comprehensive totalitarian state of Ala-ud-Din, Mubarak's—or Khusru's—success in keeping peace in the country was a great achievement, all the more so if we are to believe Barni who described Mubarak as a licentious youth entirely given to pleasure.

Khusru's accession to the throne cannot be dismissed simply as an unwelcome interlude which was soon over. If he had only brother 'Parwaris' to support him on the throne of Delhi, he could not have ascended it, let alone occupy it for five months—or a year and five months according to certain accounts.

Luckily some new material is now available—it has in fact been available for several years past—to enable us to reconstruct the story. The publication of the text of *Tughlaq Nama* of Khusru, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya, and the *Fatuh-us-Salatin* of Isami helps us now in evaluating earlier authorities better and fills some, at least, of the gaps left in the story as told so far.

Khusru was by origin a Hindu enslaved during the military expeditions of Ala-ud-Din's reign in Malwa.[3] His original home seems to have been in Gujarat. He was Baradau, Parau, Parwar, or Parwari by caste. The original Hindu designation seems to have become a victim of Arabic script. But Baradau in Khusru's *Tughlaq Nama* seems to be the nearest approximation. Isami describes him as a Parau.[4] Baradaus were no unclean periahs whose touch was defiling to the sanctimonious Hindus of the day.[5] No Persian authority describes this caste as unclean. On the contrary Amir Khusru describes Khusru and his fellow castemen as belonging to a tribe that was usually employed by princes as their body guard and was known both for its devotion to princes and its bravery.[6] Firishta describes him as a wrestler from Gujarat.[7] Khusru's original name is unknown but he was named Hasan on his conversion to Islam. He served under Malik Shadi, deputy Hajib of Ala-ud-Din's armies. He was a beautiful youngman by all accounts. We know nothing of the office he held at the time of Malik Kafur's death. One authority des-

3 *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi*, 86.
4 Isami, 362.
5 Cf. *CHI.*, III, 120.
6 *Tughlaq Nama*, 19.
7 *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, 126.

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cribes him as a door-keeper or a watchman.[8] This term however seems to have been used more as an antithesis to the exalted office Qutb-ud-Din conferred on him than a factual description. Not even Qutb-ud-Din's infatuation could have fashioned a successful commander-in-chief and a great prime minister out of a mere watchman. On Qutb-ud-Din's accession to the throne on April, 1, 1316 he became the commander-in-chief and prime minister and was now styled Khusru Khan.[9]

He had no light task to face. The totalitarian government of Ala-ud Din had been followed by Malik Kafur's virtual rule during Ala-ud-Din's dotage. Thousands of public servants were in jail. Ala-ud-Din's irksome restrictions seem to have held the people in their grip, the Hindu masses were suffering under the grinding poverty which Ala-ud-Din had imposed on them. Khusru undid all that. More than seventeen thousand prisoners were let off. All galling restrictions on trade and property were removed. Social intercourse became free. Hindus heaved a sigh of relief that overtaxation and anti-Hindu measures of Ala-ud-Din became a thing of the past. Reversal to pre-Ala-ud-Din's policy must have constituted a peaceful counter-revolution as great in its comprehensiveness as Ala-ud-Din's totalitarian scheme. All this was accomplished successfully without a single incident.[10]

Mubarak had succeeded to an empire which embraced the whole of India. Khilji authority had not yet been consolidated over all this vast territory, particularly in western and south India. Khusru had no easy task to perform here. Khilji authority was challenged in Gujarat though not successfully, thanks to Khusru and ultimately to his brother's resourcefulness. In the south, Khusru accompanied Mubarak in one expedition and served as a leader in another. The objective of the second expedition seems to have been attained[11] though there are contradictory statements as to who nursed rebellious designs against Mubarak. It is difficult however to believe the story told by Barni that Khusru Khan harboured rebellion against Mubarak when he was in Malabar.[12] We are asked to

8 *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 82.

9 *Tughlaq Nama*, 18; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (Barni), 381 to 391; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 83, 86; Isami, 347, only gives the year 716 A.H.

10 *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 382, 383, 385. *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 346 to 360.

11 *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 356 to 360; *Mubarak Shahi*, 84, 85.

12 *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 399, 400. *Mubarak Shahi*, 85; *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 360, 361.

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believe that Khusru did not intend returning to Delhi, that the loyal Muslim officers forced him to go there; according to the *Tarik-i-Mubarak Shahi* they brought him to Delhi, and if Isami is to be believed they brought him in fetters! They hoped that on reaching Delhi Khusru would be suitably punished for his evil designs. But this account accords ill with Barni's supplementary story that when Mubarak heard Khusru was coming, he had a pose of palanquin bearers stationed on the road from Deogir to Delhi in order to speed Khusru on his journey.[13] Both the stories cannot be true. If Khusru had been forced to return to Delhi, he could not have sent word of his return thereto to the king. Without such advance information it could not have been possible for the king to have made all the arrangements he is said to have made. It stands further to reason that if Khusru informed the king of his projected return to Delhi his opponents could as well have informed the king about his evil designs. This they obviously did not, because they were only hoping that when Khusru reached Delhi he would be severely taken to task.[14] Barni had no occasion to invent the story of the arrangements made to bring Khusru speedily to Delhi, he could easily have invented the story of Khusru's intended rebellion writing as he did after Khusru's death. Isami declares that Khusru intended decamping, with the treasures he had collected, across the seas. The watchfulness of his subordinate commanders led him to change his mind and he came to Delhi. When Khusru reached Delhi he complained against the conduct of his subordinates to the king who punished them all. Despite several rebellions of Alai nobles Khusru succeeded in keeping his master firmly on the throne.

Khusru's main prop during this period was the large number of his kinsmen from Gujarat whom he gathered round him. The chronology of Mubarak's reign is a little confused but it does not seem probable that Khusru invited them to Delhi after his return to the capital. While in Malabar he is said to have consulted his 'fellow-travellers' about his alleged designs.[15] As said earlier they formed a martial group. When his brother was in Gujarat as its governor, he is said to have surrounded himself with a large number of his kinsmen in the fashion of the day.[16] It seems improbable that Khusru should complain after fighting

13 Barni, 11; Yahya, 85.
14 Barni, 400; Yahya, 85.
15 Barni, 39.
16 Firishta, 126.

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several successful actions that unlike other commanders he had no troops of his own as Barni makes him say.[17]

That Mubarak spent all his time in pleasure is probable. But the ridiculous and indecent scenes of which Barni speaks could have happened, if at all, towards the end of his reign only. This is borne out by the fact that Mubarak is said to have met his death less than a month after ordering Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din to attend his court once a month. It is difficult to believe that Amir Khusru would call a ruler Khalifa if, during his reign, Muslim ceremonies had been altogether banished from the court. He certainly could not have given him that designation to Mubarak—as he frequently does in the *Nuh-Sipihr*—if he had known Mubarak to be guilty of the practices of which Barni accuses him. The *Tughlaq Nama* mentions no backsliding in his observance of Islamic rites by Mubarak, nor does it even make a reference to the strange and indecent behaviour of Mubarak in court which Barni delights in describing. The worst that Amir Khusru says about Mubarak is that he was unkind.[18] Yahya is also silent about it all and so is Isami.

Khusru at least got disgusted with the sodomic practices of the Sultan.[19] He gathered round him a group of discontented persons, several of them Muslims.[20] On April 14, 1320, Khusru's plans were complete. Mubarak was done to death. Many of his personal attendants perished. Ibn-i-Batuta suggests that Khusru obtained Mubarak's permission to admit a large number of Khusru's followers to the palace at night on the pretence that they wished to be converted to Islam. To escape the taunts of their correligionists, they had requested that they be excused presentation to the royal court during the day time.[21] Khusru could not be tenderer to Ala-ud din's sons than their brothers had been. All the princes who had escaped with their lives at the two earlier revolutions were now done to death or blinded so that not a single scion of the house of Ala-ud-din escaped unharmed. Among those who were now killed or blinded must have been Mubarak's young son barely two years old.[22]

After a good deal of hesitation, Khusru at last allowed himself to be pursuaded that now that he had killed his tormentor he should ascend the

17 Barni, 402.
18 *Ishqiya*, 273.
19 *Tughlaq Nama*, 149.
20 Firishta, 127; Isami, 364.
21 Ibn-i-Batuta, II, 80, 81.
22 *Tughlaq Nama*, 22 to 26, 47; Barni, 408; Yahya, 87 and 91.; Isami, 365.

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throne himself and proclaim himself a King[23] He did so on April, 15, 1320 and took the title Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah.

It was but natural that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessors and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace. Like Ajit Singh of Jodhpur in the eighteenth century, Khusru did not take a Hindu title as a reigning King. Just as Ajit Singh copied the Mughal emperor's titles including that of Gazi—slayer of infidels (Hindus)—Khusru called himself Nasar-ud-Din (author of victory of the faith) though he could content himself by saying that the religion his title proclaimed was other than Islam. Contemporary historians mention some 'backsliders' among his chiefs, commanders who went back to their original faith. But the stories of his desecrating mosques or treating copies of the *Quran* with contempt find no mention in Amir Khusru's *Taghlaq Nama*.[24] All that Ghias-ud-Din charges Khusru with is his rebellion against Qutb-ud-Din or his executing descendants of Ala-ud-Din, male and female.[25] It is unlikely that if Khusru had been guilty of the 'heinous' crimes Barni saddles on him, Amir Khusru should not have mentioned them. They should have formed a part of the reasons which Ghias-ud-Din advanced in his letters to other Muslim commanders when he incited them against Khusru. Not a word is said in them about any disrespect shown either to Mosques or the *Quran*.[26] Of course, Amir Khusru and Barni mention that he married some of the wives of Qutb-ud-Din.[27] There was nothing unusual therein. Malik Kafur and Qutb-ud-Din had done the same before him[28] and Khusru could only have refrained from such evil practices had he been wiser than his age.

As a ruler Khusru gathered round him an able group of administrators, both Hindus and Muslims. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, Yusaf Sufi, Hatim

23 *Tughlaq Nama*, 150-21.

24 Cf. *CHI*., III, 125, which asserts that Muslim historians record with indignation the gross insults offered to their faith. The only contemporary writer mentioned in the Bibliography to this chapter is Barni.

25 *Tughlaq Nama*, 149.

26 *Tughlaq Nama*, 57 to 70. Cf. *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 367, 368.

27 Yahya, 86; Barni, 410-411.

28 *Ishqiya*, 274, 275, mentions that Qutb-ud-Din demanded that Khizr Khan send his wife Kanwal Devi to the royal harem.

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Khan, Kamaluddin Sufi, Fakhruddin Tughlaq, Mughalti, Mahammad Shah, Bahram Abaya, Yaklakhi, Hoshang, Shaista Khan, Khizr Khan, Kafur, Shahab, Hardev, Amar Dev, Rai Ramdhol are mentioned as some of his great administrators. His rule was accepted and respected throughout the Punjab, Sind, Oudh, Central India and Multan.[29] There is no reason to doubt that his writ ran equally successfully in other parts of his empire.

Khusru's only title to the throne lay in the length of his arm and the fullness of his purse. He used both manfully and distributed the riches which Ala-ud-Din had collected among his followers. He tried to secure the loyalty of his chiefs by exalting them in rank, by rich presents and above all, in some cases, by keeping their families in Delhi. Some modern European writers have advanced curious reasons for Khusru's failure to become the centre of a successful Hindu reaction. Khusru did no more represent a Hindu reaction at large, than did Hemu in 1556. When the test of battle came he led a large composite army of Hindus and Muslims against Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq.[30] Tughlaq's army also contained some Hindu soldiers.[31] Situated as they were, Hindu rajahs who had been subdued but recently by Ala-ud-Din could have little welcomed any move at Delhi to draw them more closely thereto.

Among the Amirs at Delhi was Fakhr-ud-Din, son of Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, governor of Dipalpur. His presence at Delhi was a guarantee of his father's loyalty. He was the master of the royal horse. The king found him missing from his quarters one morning when he sent for him. Nasar-ud-Din at once sent a detachment after him in hot pursuit. His officers were however unsuccessful in capturing Fakhr-ud-Din who at last joined his father Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq at Dipalpur.

Ghias-ud-Din learnt from his son the details of the last turn of royal fortune at Delhi. He was told that not a single scion of Ala-ud-Din's house was living. Ghias-ud-Din had always lived dangerously on the outskirts of the empire, exposed to Mughal attacks. His mind now turned to reaping a rich harvest out of the events of the last few months. He decided to challenge Nasar-ud-Din's title to the throne of Delhi and head a rebellion for the purpose.

29 Cf. *Tughlaq Nama.*
30 Isami, 365.
31 *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi,* 26; *Tughlaq Nama,* 131; *Fatuh-us-Salatin,* 369.

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With this end in view, he sent his emissaries to Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi, Mughalati, governor of Multan and his own superior officer, Mahammad Shah of Sevastan, Bahram Abaya of Cuch (Sind), Yaklakhi of Samana and Hoshang of Jalore. Of these six, three refused to take part in the conspiracy. Yaklakhi sent Ghias-ud-Din's letter to Nasar-ud-Din; Ain-ul-Mulk, Nasar-ud-Din's minister showed his copy to his master; Mughalati upbraided his subordinate at Dipalpur for his treacherous designs. Bahram of Uch alone promised to participate readily and actively in the rebellion Ghias-ud-Din was about to head.[32] Ghias-ud-Din was not down hearted. He promoted a local rebellion against Mughalati of Multan and established contact with Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi again. The vazir now declared that situted as he was in Delhi, he could do nothing to promote Ghias-ud-Din's cause but wished him well and promised benevolent neutrality.[33]

Ghias-ud-Din's attempt to combine the governors of Sind, Jalore, Multan and Punjab thus came to nothing. This is an eloquent testimony to Nasar-ud-Din's hold on his empire. The failure of this conspiracy is a further proof that Nasar-ud-Din had harmed not Islam but Qutb-ud-Din and the Khiljis. The refusal of his Muslim prime minister to side openly with Ghias-ud-Din rebuts the charge that Nasar-ud-Din had launched a hostile campaign against Islam at Delhi or elsewhere. Ghias-ud-Din however was not to be deterred from his path. Ain-ul-Mulk's promise to desert his master was enough for him. Bahram also soon joined his army. Ghias-ud-Din therefore decided to proceed with his preparations for rebellion. Before these were completed, however, Yaklakhi of Samana (in East Punjab and Patiala States Union now) moved towards Dipalpur and attacked Ghias-ud-Din. Yaklakhi was however defeated and had to return to Samana.[34]

Nasar-ud-Din at Delhi was not sitting idle all this time. It is probable that the attack made on Dipalpur by Yaklakhi was inspired by him. Rather than wait for Ghais-ud-Din to move, Khusru Shah decided to take the offensive and sent an army under his brother Khan-i-Khanan to oppose Ghias-ud-Din.

Khan-i-Khanan was supported by several great commanders. Qatala Khan, Shaista Khan, Yusaf Khan and Khizr Khan are mentioned as some

32 *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 8 to 91; *Tughlaq Nama*, 57 to 70.
33 *Ibid.*, 67.
34 *Ibid.*, 69, *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 370.

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of the Muslim commanders who accompanied Khan-i-Khanan.[35] The royal army advanced from Delhi to the neighbourhood of Saraswati.[36] On account of their inexperience Khan-i-Khanan and Khizr Khan did not attack Saraswati which Ghias-ud-Din had strengthened. Leaving the enemy behind them, they made a detour to the banks of the river Bias. Here they encamped at Sotba (Sarsa) somewhere on the banks of the Bias.[37]

When Ghias-ud-Din heard of the advance of the royal army he decided to march forth. Just as he was about to do so, a royal caravan carrying the revenues of Sind and the neighbouring territories passed through Dipalpur. Ghias-ud-Din fell upon it and distributed the proceeds to his followers, commanders and soldiers alike so that every one had an advance of two years salary.[38] Thus emboldened by this stroke of good luck, Ghias-ud-Din left Dipalpur and reached the banks of the Bias. He crossed the river at Hauz-i-Bahat and encamped here.

The two armies were now separated by a waterless desert of fifteen miles. They remained facing each other for some time.[39] But Khan-i-Khanan had let himself into the enemy's territories. Saraswati was in the hands of the rebels and stood between the royal army and the territory held by the king.[40] The royal army could not afford to wait indefinitely whereas Ghias-ud-Din was not troubled by any such considerations. Khan-i-Khanan was therefore driven to take the offensive. Late one night he led his army across the waterless desert.

He had probably intended to take the enemy unawares. But the fate was kind to Ghias-ud-Din. The march across the desert took the whole night and it was only early the next day that the royal army contacted Ghias-ud-Din's forces. Khan-i-Khanan's soldiers were tired and thirsty. Ghias-ud-Din naturally jumped at the opportunity thus provided him to face an exhausted army. He ordered his forces to face the enemy and forced an immediate engagement.[41]

Amir Khusru would have us believe that Ghias-ud-Din's forces were smaller in number than the imperial army.[42] Barni declares that in

35 *Tughlaq Nama*, 97. 36 *Ibid.*, 83; Barni, 416.
37 Barni, 416-417; *Tughlaq Nama*, 83. *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, 371.
38 *Tughlaq Nama*, 77-78; Yahya, 90.
39 Barni, 416, *Tughlaq Nama*, 92.
40 *Ibid.*, 83, Barni, 416. 41 *Tughlaq Nama*, 92-93.
42 *Ibid.*, 89-90; Isami however says (370) that it was only when Tughlaq had gathered a large army that he risked engagement.

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military experience and bravery the imperial soldiers—and particularly its commanders—were babe in arms.[43] The inevitable followed. Ghias-ud-Din succeeded in trapping the enemy. He sent an advance guard letting it appear as if this was all the army the imperialists had to deal with. They fell upon it and drove it back successfully. Another Tughlaq contingent now appeared on the scene but before the imperialists had dealt with it, Ghias-ud-Din's main army advanced forward. The imperialists were now between two fires and were tricked into an indefensible position. They were defeated. The Khan-i-Khanan now left for Delhi in hot haste. Gulcandra, the leader of the Khokhars killed the bearer of the *chatar* (the royal canopy) and took it from his hand. He hastened with it to where Ghias-ud-Din was and spread it on Tughlaq's head.

Khusru Shah was not dismayed yet. If his commanders had been twice unsucessful against the enemy, he was still undeterred. He decided to march out and meet the advancing rebels outside the capital. But, as Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast on Delhi, Nasar-ud-Din did not go very far out of Siri (Ala-ud-Din's Delhi) and encamped near Hauz-i-Khas near where later on was built the tank of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. A ditch was dug in front and a mud wall put up at the back of the camp to minimize chances of a surprise night attack.[44] The old fort lay on one side and the royal gardens on the other side of the camp.[45]

Meanwhile Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast. His initial success added to his self-confidence, the large amount of booty that fell into his hands as the result of the flight of the Delhi army fed the cupidity of his followers. After resting for a week[46] at the scene of battle he led his army towards Delhi. Passing through Hansi, Madina, Rohtak, Mandauti, Palam and Kishanpura, he reached the plains of Lahravat with the Jumna to his east and the old Delhi to his south[47] and encamped near the tomb of Raziya.[48]

Both sides now busied themselves in preparations for the mortal combat. Khusru Shah was supported by several great commanders including the governor of Oudh, Yusaf Khan, Sufi, Kamal-ud-Din Sufi, Shaista-Khan, Amir Kafur, Randhol, Khan-i-Khanan, Shahab, Kaisar, Amir

43 Barni, 415, 416.
44 Yahya, 91; *Tughlaq Nama*, 78; Isami, 371 to 373.
45 *Ibid.*, 115; Yahya, 91; Barni, 418.
46 Barni, 417. 47 *Tughlaq Nama*, 113-115. 48 Yahya, 91.

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Umbar, Baha-ud-Din and Maldev. Here again we find that most of administrators under Nasar-ud-Din are Muslims. The Barbak, the Hajib and the Vakil-i—Bab were the highest offices in the state and were all filled by Muslims. The prime minister's office was filled by Ain-ul-Mulk Multani.[49]

While Khusru Shah was busy making his preparations Ain-ul-Mulk, his prime minister, quietly deserted him and slunk away to Central India. The *Tughlaq-Nama* suggests that Ghias-ud-Din so arranged his armies in three commands, that they should be able to join battle at intervals.[50] It involved taking risks, but Ghias-ud-Din was willing enough to take them. His plan was successful. His first army was defeated and driven away and the fortunes of battle seemed to be going against him when his second army joined in the fray. The appearance of the third command helped him in gaining a complete victory.[51] Isami's account however seems to be nearer the truth. He declares that when the two armies met the royal forces defeated and drove away the division under Fakhr-ud-Din who ran away. This led to a general fright in the army of the Tughlaq-Nasar-ud-Din now sent an army to attack the camp where Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq's family was. The battle was almost lost when Tughlaq succeeded in gathering together his flying remnants and made a dead set at Nasar-ud-Din's army. The Khakhars under Gulcandra fought bravely to restore the balance of battle. Nasar-ud-Din's armies were defeated and he ran away.[52] Ibn-i-Batuta suggests that Nasar-ud-Din's defeat was due to the fact that flushed with their earlier victory, his army was busy plundering when Tughlaq fell on them.[53]

Khusru Shah now fled away and sought refuge in a garden. He was traced thereto and brought before Ghias-ud-Din. He requested his captor to spare his life and be content with blinding him. Ghias-ud-Din would have none of it. He asked Khusru Shah why he had been so cruel to his master Mubarak. Khusru replied that it was Mubarak's sodomy that had driven him to seek his revenge in his own fashion. 'Had Mubarak been not so foul towards me,' Khusru Shah declared, 'I would not have committed such deeds.' Ghias-ud-Din paid no heed to Khusru Shah's entreaties and had him executed at the very place where Khusru had

49 *Tughlaq Nama,* 117-118.
50 *Ibid.,* 121 to 131.
51 *Ibid.,* 131; Yahya, 91.
52 Isami, 377, 378.
53 Ibn-i-Batuta, II, 87.

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murdered Mubarak.[54] Thus passed away Khusru Shah after a stormy reign

Khusru Shah is usually credited with a short reign of four months and a few days. His accession is put on April, 15, 1320. His date of death, however, has become a matter of dispute. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* places it in the year 721 A.H. Firishta followed the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and many modern writers repeated him. The year given by the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is obviously wrong and goes against Barni and Amir Khusru both of whom place the accession of Ghias-ud-Din in 720 A.H. Even Yahya accords Khusru a reign of four months and some days. But the chronology is confounded again by Isami's statement that Nasar-ud-Din ascended the throne in 719[55] This would give Khusru a reign of more than a year and four months. But Isami himself assigns a reign of 'some months' to Nasar-ud-Din. It seems possible that contemporary historians were so much upset by the rise of Nasar-ud-Din that in order to belittle him they tried even to shorten the time when Islam was not in ascendance at Delhi.

Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah presented a successful example of a man from the ranks and a Hindu at that rising to the highest office in the state. His stewardship of Mubarak Shah's reign is a great tribute to his administrative abilities and military leadership. Amir Khusru in his *Nuh Sapihr* declares that he richly deserved all the honours that the king bestowed on him. He was defeated because Ghias-ud-Din proved himself a greater tactician and strategist. In both the engagements with Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, the royal armies carried everything before them for a considerable time. It was the greater tenacity of purpose of Ghias-ud-Din that ultimately brought him victory. Isami describes Ghias-ud-Din's success to the bravery of the Khakhars under their leader Gulcandra.

Nasar-ud-Din's reign is notable for his own reconversion to Hinduism as well as that of a large number of his kinsmen. They must have been accepted as Hindus before they could find Brahmin priests to perform Hindu rites in the palace. That in itself represented a revolutionary change in the Hindu society. As said before, the loud complaints of the later writers that Nasar-ud-Din treated Muslim sacred books or Muslim mosques with disrespect are not tenable. Isami's declaration that Islam stood

54 *Tughlaq Nama*, 151; Isami, 380.
55 Isami, 367.

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defeated under him means no more than that Nasar-ud-Din was a Hindu king. It is not surprising that orthodox Barni should exhibit so much antagonism against Khusru Shah.

SRI RAM SHARMA

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(*i*) *Nuh-Sapihr. M.S.*

(*ii*) *Tughlaq Nāmā*

(*iii*) *Ishqiya*

These contain the earliest contemporary accounts of the events described above. Amir Khusru died in 1325 A.D.

2. Isami:

The Fatuh-us-Salatin was completed in 1350.

3. Barni:

The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* was completed in 1357.

4. Ibn-i-Batuta:

He came to India in 1333 A.D., thirteen years after the last event described above The date of the composition of his *Travels* is not certain. There is nothing to suggest that they were compiled while he was still in India. I have cited the complete Urdu translation rather than the abridged English version.

5. Yahya:

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* seems to have been compiled about 1433 A.D.

6. Firishta:

Badayuni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and several other later writers in their histories of India give an account of some of these events but add little to our knowledge.

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Madras under Governor Sir Archibald Campbell (1786-89)

(A Glimpse into its Society and Politics)

I

Madras was in those days a walled city, as the present-day George Town, then known as Black Town, surrounded by a well-built, ramparted and bastioned wall on its western and northern sides. The west wall ran parallel and close to the present Wall Tax Road, while the north wall had a slightly convex front towards Washermanpet. On the outer side of the ramparts, the ground was cleared for a width of 600 yards to afford a field for free gun-firing. The southern portion of the western esplanade of the wall was converted in the middle of the last century by Governor Sir Charles Trevelyan, into the People's Park. There were as many bastions as seventeen built along the wall, and they were connected by curtains averaging 300 yards in length. Several gateways pierced the wall, of which the name of one—Elephant Gate—is still preserved at the site on which it stood. Debtor-prisoners were confined in the bastions of the north-west angle of the wall, even now known as the Corner Battery, while criminals were put in the bastions of the northern wall, the memory of which is still preserved in the name, Old Jail Street, given to the road running adjacent to the demolished north wall.

Fort St. George had then become fully built into its present demi-octagonal shape. Its bastions and curtains contained bomb-proof casements beneath, for the accommodation of troops and stores. Cisterns were built under the sea-wall to hold a water supply sufficient for 6,000 men for four months, the water being pumped through pipes from the Seven Wells in North George Town. Europeans and a few well-to-do Indians had begun to remove to spacious garden-houses in extensive wooded compounds built along both sides of the Mount Road and in Egmore. A plan was in the air to build a pier projecting into the sea beyond the surf-line from which boats might conveniently take goods and passengers to and from the ships lying in the roadstead. Black Town itself consisted of two parts, Muthialpettah on the east and Peddanaickenpettah on the west, divided from each other by a low-

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lying tract along which ran a drainage channel. As the city became crowded this land was reclaimed and had its level raised; and it was gradually built over. The main north and south street traversing it came to be known as Broadway, that name being only euphemistically true for the street. The Indian community was still divided into two broad groups, the Right and Left hand caste groups, who indulged occasionally in bitter quarrels which led to the frequent suspension of regular business and closing of shops. There were outlying suburban villages which were engaged in the weaving, washing and dyeing of cotton cloth for export, like Chintadripet, Vepery, Washermanpet, and Colletpet. The European residents included 160 Civil Servants and 800 Military Officers besides a number of non-officials who were engaged in various occupations; and there were, on the whole, about 1,000 Europeans of consequence living in the Madras Presidency, besides 4,000 European troops. There was, besides, a small, but prosperous, community of Armenian, Indo Portuguese and Jewish merchants who vigorously competed with the Europeans in the "country-trade" carried on with countries beyond the Bay and across the Arabian Sea.

II

In the late eighties of the 18th century, the Government of Madras was prosperous in one way, but weak and insolvent in another way. Its political power and sovereign authority were rapidly extending over the country; and the strength of the European Officers in the Madras Army was, in comparison with the Civil Service, more than four to one. Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor from 1786 to 1789, tried to follow the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, in the latter's firm resolve to purge out all corruption that was rampant in the Services. Almost every Civil Servant and Army Officer indulged in what were generally called "private concerns," and in the eyes of every European, whether official or non official, civilian, soldier or merchant, the Company's administration "existed only to serve him." Very few among them had any interest in attempting to promote or extend the commercial transactions of the Company. Thus the Company as merchant was steadily vanishing before the Company as Sovereign. Apart from the stores and supplies imported for its own consumption, the Company's ships from home brought in no saleable commodities except woollen stuff, copper and Madeira Wine, the last being specially intended for consumption by the

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wealthier European residents. The woollens were unsaleable even though offered frequently at public out-cry, while the copper was sold at an average profit of 33%. The cotton goods exported to England from Madras did not average, in annual value, more than two lakhs of pagodas. The ships that anchored in the Madras roadstead were largely for the convenience of the private trading concerns of the Europeans. Many European articles were brought out as part of their cargo by the Commanders and Officers of the Company's ships, on their *privilege* of carrying goods free up to certain limits. Even then, great Agency Houses had begun to function at Madras; and they became the precursors of the large Agency Houses that have continued down to the present day, like Messrs. Parry & Co., and Messrs. Best & Co. Some of these Agency Houses that were vigorously functioning then were Balfour and Spalding, Pelling & DeFries, Amos & Bowden and Francis Lautour & Co. These Houses required that the Company's outward bound China fleet should call at Madras in order that the vacant available spaces in the holds of these ships might be stuffed with their goods intended for the China market. British merchants had contrived to capture a good portion of the *country-trade* from Dutch hands, across the Bay of Bengal to China and the Malaya Archipelago. The English *Country Captains* had wide and ramified activities which developed the opium and cotton trade with China and steadily penetrated into the markets of Malaya, which were formerly exclusively held by the Dutch; and some of them even attacked the heart of the Dutch trade in spices, which comprehended the "Famous Four", viz., Nutmeg, Cloves, Cinnamon and Mace.

It was for the task of expanding their Country-trade which required new bases for refitting and revictualling of the country ships, that the Prince of Wales Island, later known as Penang, was bought from the Sultan of Tedah, for the East India Company in 1786. Once in English hands, Penang quickly drew Malay merchants to itself from Malacca and Perak. The Chinese port of Macao was already more than half-British in its trade. This Country trade resulted in the development of ship-building industry in Bengal and Lower Burma, in Calcutta, Chittagong and Pegu.

III

The Government of Madras had, as a result of these fast-moving forces, become mainly a spending organisation, encumbered with a heavy

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local Bond-Debt. It lived, so to speak, always from hand to mouth. Approximately every year, about a crore of current rupees of the Bengal Government had to be transferred for meeting current expenditure in Madras, in the shape of bonds and bills of exchange and to some extent rice which had also to be imported. Most of these bonds passed through the Madras Agency Houses which acted as trustees, attorneys, and executors for the greater number of the Company's servants. Bills of exchange were frequently marked directly to them by Government itself and the tenders offered by Government for its bills on Bengal were also purchased by them. On the receipt side, Government got only small amounts as land revenue from territories and districts immediately under its control, and as subsidies levied on the Country Princes and Chiefs. On the expenditure side, the upkeep of the Army and the Civil Service involved very large sums; and when war broke out with Tipu Sultan in 1789, the Bengal Government had to make very heavy transfers of funds to Madras, by selling bills of exchange by the despatch of huge cargoes of rice. The funds required for war expenditure were bought in exchange for the Company's paper promising 8% and 10%, and sometimes even 12% interest. For every European in India the war meant increased profits; and naturally all of them were for war. It was a pity that the policy of Lord Cornwallis who was sincerely bent upon peace, retrenchment and reform should have really brought about the war. What the war meant in terms of profits to Europeans and Indians alike can be here summarised. Liberal rates of commission were given by Government for getting gold in return for Arcot Rupees. Soon Government began borrowing at 10%, not only from the Agency Houses, but from all classes of Madras Society, European and Indian; and the names of Hindu Chettis, Pillais and Nayaks are as numerous in the lists of contributors to Government funds as those of Europeans and Indo-Portuguese and other communities and that for sums amounting to thousands of pagodas. Before 1791, when the Mysore War was a year old, Government was offering 12% discount for cash. In the month of October 1790 Indians and Indo-Portuguese and Armenians contributed nearly a lakh of pagodas to the Government appeal for bonds. Among the bond-holders were the Trustees of the Orphan Asylum, put down for 5,000 pagodas, the Rev. W. Pohle for 1,000 pagodas and the Superior of the Capuchin Convent for a similar sum. Indian contributions to Government's borrowing continued on an equally generous scale during

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the succeeding months and Indian merchants helped vigorously to make up the special loan of 1,23,000 pagodas, at 12%, raised among the Agency Houses and the Portuguese and Armenian merchants. When the war really under way, chests of Calcutta *Sicca* rupees were a substantial portion of the Bengal shipments to Madras. Soon all kinds of coins, Venetian Sequins and Spanish Dollars, Delhi Mohurs and Bar silver came into the Madras market for exchange and conversion; and a lively season of activity ensued for the Madras Mint which was then under the very wise guidance of the well-known Tepperumal Chetty, the Mint Contractor, one of whose main duties was to ascertain the touch of all gold coins. He and his fellow coiners melted down the miscellaneous coins brought in heaps to the furnace of the mint and struck from them standard gold pagodas and silver rupees of standard fineness. The standard Star Pagoda bore a star on one side and a crude figure of Vishnu on the other. Besides this Star Pagoda, there also circulated the Three-Swami or Madras Pagoda, which commanded a premium of 18%, though only 9% more in value than the other, because of the Hindu predilection for a coin bearing the images of three deities, instead of one Star; and Three-Swami pagodas, with their sub divisions of silver *fanams* and copper *dubs* or *cash* were largely in circulation in Madras itself; while Arcot rupees had to be sent to the remoter areas of the Presidency, and large quantities of them had to be coined at the mint both for the Company's use and for the Agency Houses. When, at the end of the War with Tipu, Government received a huge sum of money as indemnity from the defeated Sultan, the quantities of coins he sent to Madras contained a variety of gold and silver coins which had to be sold to the European Agency Houses and to the leading Indian Shroffs and all of which had to be counted, weighed and valued in terms of the Madras Star Pagoda.

IV

Andrew Ross was the leading non official Britisher in Madras at the time; and though never in the Company's service, he had been influential for decades and risen to be the Mayor. Another English resident, James Amos, who had originally landed in India without the Company's license, acquired the prosperous Danish business formerly done by Pelling & De Fries, which firm, had been in the beginning, a union of English and Portuguese interests. These Madras merchants throve vigorously upon the business afforded to them by the officers and the men of the European

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Regiments and by the thousand and odd Civil and Military servants of the Company. Naturally enough, merchants and lawyers predominated among the Madras non-official Europeans. Not that their reputation was of the highest kind. The Madras Bar was "the refuge of the climber and of the English, Scottish or Irish Attorney who wished to make a second start in life far from home." The attorneys encouraged litigiousness, by every means in their power, both among the Europeans and the Indians. The best known among the Madras lawyers of the time was Stephen Popham who had landed in India a bankrupt after wasting his substance in Borough-mongering and in fighting weak causes in the Irish Parliament. Within four years of his landing his practice in Madras enabled him to build up both his fortune and his reputation; and he proved to be a "worthy citizens of Madras', devised a plan for policing the town and bought the site of the New Indian Market, which comprehended the nucleus of the present Kotwal Bazaar.

Besides the lawyers and the merchants there were about 150 independent Europeans who, when called to give an account of themselves, by the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, could not adduce proofs of their having either actually paid their way to India or got the Company's license to reside there. But all were ready to show that they were willing and able to earn an honest livelihood by some means or other. Thus we find that one John Leathem who had stealthily climbed aboard a Company's ship at Funchal, had blossomed out eleven years later into the senior partner of "Messrs. Leathem and MacIntosh, Clock-makers" who had been long in charge of the Honourable Company's Clocks. A similar case is that of Charles Lloyd, a Jew from Hanover who had served for a time as a doctor in Hyder Ali's Army and then settled down very respectably as a baker in Madras. Yet another, Thomas Andrews, who had been a midshipman in the British Navy and later a prisoner of Hyder, opened and successfully ran a respectable European shop near the Fort.

Corruption among the officials was rampant in the previous decades, but had been appreciably reduced by the strong measures undertaken by Sir Archibald Campbell. The new method of revenue collection introduced in the Jaghir (Chingleput) District made possible only petty corruption; while the cloth that was collected for the Company's investments had to be woven in the Company's own villages under the 'thread and money' system, so that when the weavers were given thread and

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money by the Export Warehouse-keeper through one or two Indians who were the Company's employees and not private contractors, and when the cloth thus produced was washed, bleached and beaten in Madras itself by bodies of washers and beaters employed as servants of the Company, there was no possibility of any large-scale corruption. Even when Indian contractors had to be employed, their dealings were rigorously supervised. But such careful control was not possible in the remoter parts of the Presidency where the Chiefs and Members of the Provincial Councils indulged in all kinds of dubious transactions with Indian merchants and land-owners. They were offered bribes by the land owners for condoning the delayed payment of their *kists* and by merchants who were anxious to profit by fraudulent contracts. It is regrettable to note that the members of the Board of Trade in Madras, many of whom had served under the Provincial Chiefs and Councils, displayed an indifference towards and occasionally even a tendency to destroy, the 'thread and money' system wherever it existed.

The Company's military servants were likewise indulging in acts of corruption of all sorts. Most of them had one kind of share or another in the business of feeding, transporting and training the *sepoy-army*—"a business honey-combed with subsistence allowances and perquisites which had been exacted for so long that they were considered legitimate." The officers indulged in collusive buying of stores of all kinds; and as they never got their regular pay in time and often were given the Company's bonds instead of cash, they indulged largely in what they called 'private concerns.' Even the officers of the European Regiments of the Crown, stationed in the Presidency were "not above the making the most of the brief sojourn in India;" but their opportunities were more limited in the circumstances than those open to their brethren in the Company's Army.

The evidence of corruption uncovered by Sir Archibald Campbell enables us to gain a clearer conception of the nature of the "private concerns" that the Army Officers and Civil Servants indulged in. The Governor quickly discovered that the embezzlement of military stores at Madras had been going on for forty years. The last officer responsible had simply sold assortments on his own account and charged them out, as if issued for the use of the garrison. Captain Thomas Bedford, the Storekeeper, at the time of the investigations of 1787 stabbed himself rather than face a trial. A number of specific instances of collusive contracts came to light. George Westcott was an expert in this art of

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collusion. On one occasion, he paid Indian bullock-contractors 1,600 pagodas less than the Company paid him for the bullocks. At Masulipatam, on another occasion, he bought grain for the garrison at a lower price and charged it up to the Company at a higher price, which secured him a 'neat' profit of 4,000 pagodas. Governor Campbell ordered indeed the deportation of a handful of these 'undesirable' Europeans, but he could not alter the basis of the social and economic structure of Madras Society which was the root cause of the corruption. Nor could he persuade the owners of the 8% bonds issued in Madras to exchange them for 5% bonds issued in London. Half the bonds issued in Madras had gone into the hands of wealthy Indians who had bought them up at a heavy discount from impecunious European Officers; and only a very few of these Indians would sell their securities, while all of them were sure that their European masters would do their utmost to see to it that these bonds were never repudiated. The scandal of the Nawab of Arcot's debts to Europeans bearing usurious interest, had also begun to be felt seriously.

V

Popham's Plan of Police Regulations was submitted in 1782 and comprehended many matters which would now be regarded as being purely municipal in their nature. He became the Secretary to the Committee of Regulations which functioned for a short while. Among details of this scheme, it may be noted that he advocated the building of direct and cross drains in every street to carry off drain and rain water, the naming and lighting of streets, the regular registration of births and deaths and the licensing of liquor, arrack and toddy shops; and also the creation of a body of policemen with a central office and the erection of several watch-houses in the different parts of the town.

Under the Plan the Police were to prepare regular lists of the inhabitants of every street, noting their respective occupations and trades, and also of the shops with the shop-keepers' names marked over the doors. All carriages and vehicles and animals used for drawing them, as well as all transport animals, were to be registered. Complaints about servants for insolence or misbehaviour, the regulation of their wages, the rates of coolie-hire and the like were to be settled by the head of the police. Fuel and grass for animals were to be provided for, so that the market would never suffer any scarcity in these articles. A tax was to

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be levied on all owners of property for defraying the expenses of these improvements at an annual rate not exceeding one per cent.

Popham was a pertinacious and tireless worker. He took justifiable credit for advising the removal of the mound known as Hoghill (Narimedu) which occupied the south-eastern portion of Peddanaickenpettah (the ground now covered by the Western Esplanade of the Fort and the Ordnance Lines). The hill itself was cleared and levelled and part of the earth that was removed was transported to Popham's house-sites in Mannady and filled. This place thus got its name of Mannady (lit. accumulation of earth). The removal of Hog-hill and its buildings accounts for the present curiously broken outline of Peddanaickenpettah on its south-east side and the abrupt termination of some of its north and south streets.

In one of his letters Popham thus describes the various ills which afflicted the Madras citizens in those days. In it he suggests some much-needed improvements for the City: "Was the Bound Hedge (beyond the City walls) finished, no man could desert. No Spy could pass; and it is a notorious fact that during the late War the Black Town swarmed with, and is still supposed to harbour, spies in the service of European as well as Asiatic Powers. Provisions would be Cheap. All the Garden Houses, as well as 33 square miles of ground (of the City and its suburbs) would be in security from the intrusions of irregular Horse. As to the advantages of Ease and Comfort to the European Inhabitants, they would be infinite. Provisions would be Cheaper, Robberies much less frequent, Impositions of all sorts prevented, and health promoted. The medical Gentlemen will, I believe, acknowledge that many a Junior Servant, both in the Civil and Military Line, has owed his Fate as much to the confined and unwholesome Situation of his place of abode in the Black Town as to the malignancy of the disorder....."

"The Dubashes of the Justices meet with more Homage than the Justices themselves (or than any other Persons whomsoever in the Settlement, except the Dubashes of some of the Attorneys of the Mayor's Court), and.....Those same Dubashes exercise their Power for the most oppressive, illegal and unjustifiable purposes.....It has been said that my plan is too extensive. Is the extirpation of Dubashism such a Hydra of Labour that the idea should affright us? The Community wish for the Reform, and by their zeal and harder of this Herculean task will be overcome. The cordial support of Government will complete the work."

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The collection of quit-rents and scavengers' duty in Madras had always been a difficult task. A Civil Servant was entrusted with this task and with the control of the Conservancy, but he could not easily carry out his duties; and it was only after considerable agitation that regular Conservancy Officers were appointed; and it was ordered that filth was to be removed from the streets twice a week and cess-spools were to be regularly maintained in front of the houses.

It was also in Governor Campbell's time that many useful institutions were started in Madras. Besides the Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices, Campbell founded an astronomical observatory at Nungambakkam. He ordered an astronomical survey in 1786 and engaged a scientist to fix the latitudes and longitudes of the stations on the Coast. Mr. Goldingham who assisted this scientist, worked at a private observatory built by Mr. W. Petrie, a Civil Servant of the Company who had erected it at his own expense. Goldingham was the first Government Astronomer and held that office for nearly forty years.

Governor Campbell is also to be credited with having improved the postal service and created an Asylum for the orphaned children of European soldiers. A separate Medical Department was constituted for Madras in 1786 under the control of a Physician-General who was to act also as the Director of Hospitals. The Madras Post Office was started in the same year as a Government concern and it was arranged that all letters were to pay postage at the rate of one fanam for a single letter for every 100 miles. A Charity School was also organised for maintaining and educating the orphan children of soldiers and other Europeans under a famous teacher, the Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, who became noted for having inaugurated the monitorial system of instruction in Scotland known for long as the Madras System of Education.

Dr. Bell was associated with the establishment of the Male Orphan Asylum of which he was the first Superintendent. He adopted the method of teaching that was followed in the Indian *pial*-school; viz., the sharper and senior boys teaching their juniors and acting as assistant teachers as well as monitors. Every senior boy was thus both a master and a scholar. Dr. Bell retired from Madras in 1796 and spent the remaining years of his life in introducing his system of education into the United Kingdom. He founded a school at St. Andrew's, known as the Madras College, which however ceased before long to utilise the Madras System of Education.

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The Male Orphan Asylum developed out of the Charity School maintained by the Vestry of St. Mary's Church in the Fort. Subsequently, a press was established at the school which provided useful training for the orphans and diminished the cost of printing work. Government first printed its *Gazette* at this press. From this emanated the *Madras Male Asylum Almanac,* a publication which endured for many years and was long issued as the Lawrence Asylum Press Almanac.

A Female Orphan Asylum was founded in 1787 by the efforts of Lady Campbell and supported by private endowments. It existed as a separate institution for over a hundred years and was merged in the beginning of this country, with the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund and with the Civil Orphan Asylum at Madras. The Male Asylum originally stood on the site on which the present Egmore Railway Station stands.

It was also at this time that the noted Dr. Anderson of Natural Science fame, suggested the encouragement of mulberry cultivation to the Government and turned their attention to sericulture, and to the securing of silkworms' eggs from Bengal. He suggested the adaptation of the Female Orphan Asylum to the development of the silk industry. There was a Nopalry at the Lushington Gardens, Saidapet, which was also suggested for utilisation for silk culture by Dr. Anderson. Dr. Roxburgh who later on became famous on account of his development of the world-known Botanical Garden at Calcutta, also suggested at that time further activities in the way of the development of the sago, date and palmyra palms, besides jack and bread fruit. The Nopalry of Anderson survived till 1,800, when it was ordered to be closed by the Governor, as it had entirely failed in its object. The present Anderson's Garden was originally designed by him as a botanical garden. Anderson had in hand various speculations and improvements. He enjoyed a high reputation in his day and is now remembered by a fine monument erected to his memory in the vestibule of St. George's Cathedral.

C. S. Srinivasachari

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Aldermen and Attorneys—Mayor's Court, Calcutta

In 1726 the Court of Directors placed at the foot of the throne a representation that there was a great want, at Madras, Fort William and Bombay, of a proper and competent authority for the more speedy and effectual administration of justice in Civil causes. One of the main reasons for the establishment of the Mayor's Court seems to be the necessity to take away from the President and Council the power to administer the estates of the deceased persons. By the Charter of 1726 was established the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras having jurisdiction over the residents, both European and natives of those settlements.[1] The Court was to be a Court of Records consisting of a Mayor and nine Aldermen.[2] The President and Council was constituted a Court of Appeal. In cases valued at 1,000 pagodas or more appeal lay to the King in Council.[3] The Mayor's Court was given the sole authority to grant letters of administration. A second Charter was issued in 1753 which empowered the Council to fill up the vacancies occurring in the offices of Aldermen and excepted from the Court's jurisdiction, the natives unless they submitted to it by mutual consent.

Charles Hamilton, William Bruce, John Boukett, and Thomas Coales appear to have been the first Mayor and Aldermen of the Court.[4] On 3rd October 1728 it was decided that the expenses of peons and proper officers of the Mayor's court should be disbursed by the Zemindar. Fines levied by the Mayor's Court were to go to the Company, but fines realised from persons refusing to serve as an Alderman (which was £50 sterling) were to be paid into the Court's Treasury.[5] In this connection, it may be mentioned that deposits of money made by the litigants were kept in the Company's Treasury and no interest was paid on them.[6] An

1 Long's idea that the Mayor's Court existed from 1724 is wrong.

2 The Aldermen were elected for life and in this respect their position was different from that of the Company's ordinary servants.

3 Mayor's Court Records, Proceedings of 1749, pp. 98-99, pp. 177-188. The Privy Council judgment on two cases of appeal—1,000 pagodas were equivalent to about Rs. 3,000. Fawcett, First Century of British Justice etc., p. 218.

4 Bengal Past and Present, vol. VIII, Mayor's Court Records.

5 Extracts of Fort William General Letters dated 28th Feb. 1727-1728.

6 See Appendix A. p. 98.

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Accountant General was also appointed to inspect and adjust the Court's account with the Company.

The first place of meeting of the Court was a house which stood on the south side of Lalbazar just near the junction of Lalbazar with Cossaitollah (Bentinck Street). This was the Ambassador's House. Later they sat in the Old Court House which stood on the site of St. Andrew's kirk.[7] In 1758 the Mayor had to vacate the Court House as it was appropriated to the use of keeping Military Stores.[8] The Court had to hire the Charity School house and the Company agreed to pay the rent. In 1761 the Trustees of the Charity School wrote to the President and Council: "At present there are but Rs. 30 per month received from that large and commodious edifice, which sum is evidently much below its real worth."[9]

The account of the Mayor's Court shows that the monthly pay of the Mayor was Rs. 35/-, that of the Alderman Rs. 15/-. The Register received Rs. 25/- per month, while the Deputy Register Rs. 50/-.[10] Perhaps he was a wholetime officer.[11]

Among the items of the Court's monthly expenses may be mentioned Rs. 20/- for the Interpreter, Rs. 2/4/- for two Black Court Sergeants, Rs. 10/- for two European Court Sergeants. There is an entry of 9 annas duty on law suits per folio page, which yielded a sum amounting to 1,000

7 Bengal Past and Present, vol. XXVII, p. 220; Wilson, Old Fort William, vol. I, pp. 119, 127.

8 Old Fort William, vol. II, p. 142.

9 C. R. Wilson, Old Fort William, vol. II, p. 163. The house, it seems, needed repair, for in 1765 the Register wrote to William Aldersey requesting him to appoint proper person to repair the house—Mayor's Court Letter Copy Book.—1764-1769.

10 Mayor's Court Accounts, p. 96. In 1754 the Register's pay was Rs. 14/- but accounts of 1762 and of subsequent years show that he received Rs. 25/- per month.

Throughout the Mayor's Court Records, the Officer is described as Register, modern name is Registrar.

11 Deputy Register is not mentioned in any of the records of the Mayor's Court, but only in the Accounts of the Mayor's Court of 1762 and of subsequent years. In the Mayor's Court Proceedings 1749, we find that the Register being indisposed on a particular day one Mr. Bedford officiated for him; but he is not described as the Deputy Register, Mayor's Court Records 1749, p. 109. Probably with the increase in the Court's work a wholetime officer was appointed as Deputy Register.

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rupees or more.[12] Salaries were paid every six months, but men had other perquisites in those days and the delay therefore was not so inconvenient. Private trade brought in far more profit.

Further it appears that the Board in 1754 reduced the fees on law suits in the Court of Appeal to the same standard as those allowed by the Mayor's Court to the Attorneys and their Clerks, and increased the salary of the Board's Secretary.[13] It is interesting to note that in the same year the Court's Register William Parker in a letter to the Board informed them that he had much work to do such as preparing copies to be sent to the Board as well as to England and hence requested them to enhance his salary in view of the like increase in the salary of the Accountant General.[14]

There are several recorded instances of persons, resident of Calcutta, refusing to serve as an Alderman of the Mayor's Court, despite the fact that they had to pay a fine of £50 sterling for such non-compliance.[15] Vacancies frequently occurred in the office of Alderman at Calcutta and in the course of one year the Register of the Court had to write twice or even thrice to the Board's Secretary for a new appointment. Love says that in Madras the disinclination was so great that there was difficulty in obtaining the requisite number of Aldermen.[16] The Council's interference in the Court's affairs may account for this, but the main reason for the alleged unpopularity was the petty pittance at which the judges of the Mayor's Court had to work. The Court's account shows that the Mayor's pay was Rs. 35/- per month, that of an Alderman Rs. 15/-. Bolts says that the pay generally received by the judges of the Court was £25/- per annum which would scarcely pay one month's house rent at Calcutta.

Thus service in the Mayor's Court was unpopular and the least attractive. Those who were attracted to it were men of the "slenderest legal attainments and the slightest judicial training." Majority of those English-

12 Mayor's Court Accounts, p. 96 (1754).

13 Public General Letters to Court dated Fort William the 7th December 1754, para 147.

14 Public Proceedings 1754, p. 494. Probably as a result of this his salary was increased from Rs. 14/- to Rs. 25/- per month.

15 Mr. Auryall was fined for his refusal to serve as an Alderman—Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government vol. I, No. 119; Mayor's Court Letters Copy Book 1764-1769—Thomas French refused to accept the offer of the seat of Alderman, 11th March 1766.

16 Love, Vestiges vol. II, p. 264-265.

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men who came out to the East felt that they carried with them that vast mass of law, Common and Statute, that was supposed to guarantee the liberties of the English people. Justice at the Mayor's Court was administered according to English law by those who had the least acquaintance with its elements. It is easy to imagine what a fine opening there was for those who could persuade others to believe that they had some legal knowledge. In 1727 the Court was supplied by the Company with a number of books dealing with laws of Wills and rules relating to Chancery practice.[17] In 1766 William Magee the Register wrote a letter to Lord Clive and his Council and enclosed in it a long list of books wanted by the Mayor's Court. They appear to be mainly Chancery reports, and reports of other Common Law Courts.[18] Volumes, however, do not signify anything. It is doubtful whether the judges ever cared to master what was contained in them.

Little importance was attached to the duty performed by the judges and perhaps there was no regard for the exalted posts of Mayor and Alderman. The President and Council at Fort William, sometime selected Aldermen from among those persons whom they could not otherwise employ and who worried them with their complaints and misdeeds. At times a seat on the Bench was offered to men whose only qualification was unstinted loyalty to the Council. It mattered little if the choice proved to be unworthy. Mr. Cornelius Goodwin for gross misconduct at Madras was declared by the East India Company to be unworthy of their service and was accordingly dismissed.[19] He was subsequently employed as an Alderman of the Calcutta Mayor's Court[20] and was allowed to continue as such despite the fact that he committed many indiscretions sufficient to turn him out. Mr. Bolts during the period of his suspension from the Company's service was elevated to the office of Alderman.[21] Probably the Council thought that thereby his capacity for doing mischief would be diminished. Persons like these sat as judges of the Mayor's Court and one can well imagine how justice was administered in their hands.

17 Mayor's Court Records 1727, 28th August. The books came per ship *Bridge-water.*

18 Home Dept. Pub. Cons., 25th September 1765 No. 2(b).

19 Bolts' "Consideration," vol. III, Appendix—Richard Whittall's statement on Goodwin's dismissal.

20 Mayor's Court Letters Copy Book 1764-1769 Councils. Goodwin was offered the appointment on the 15th December 1765.

21 N. L. Hallward, William Bolts, p. 42. Bolts was appointed on the 11th August 1766.

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Before 1753 the members of the Court could fill in the vacancies by co-option, but after the second Charter was issued the duty of doing it devolved on the President and Council. With regard to the election of the Mayor the procedure was altered. It was enacted that the existing members would choose two persons from among themselves and present them to the Board. The Board would then nominate one of them as Mayor. The Board's decision would be final.

On 2nd December 1755 an interesting incident occurred. That was the day appointed by His Majesty's Charter for electing two members to be presented to the President and Council. After the ballot papers had been returned, it appeared that there were five for Mr. Henry Kelsall the Mayor and five for Bartholomew Plaisted the Alderman. The Court decided that the Mayor should have a casting vote. By virtue of that Henry Kelsall was elected as one of the members to be presented to the Board. Plaisted dissented from it and held that elections should "be ballotted and not voted for." The Court paid no heed to Plaisted's remark and a second set of ballots were returned and William Fullerton was elected as another member to be presented to the Board.[22]

On another occasion the Court tried to evade strict observance of the provisions of the Charter with regard to the election of the Mayor. On 8th December 1763, the Register William Magee informed the Council by a letter that the Mayor's Court had chosen Mr. Peter Gallopine and Robert Gregory to be the two members to be presented.[23] The Council were displeased at this and pointed out that the two members elect should be presented personally at their Board.[24] "If therefore," observed the Council, "it be argued that the words of the Charter are not so positive or express as to put this matter beyond the possibility of Dispute, they are of opinion that the former and general custom should determine and be the Rule of Practice." The Council expressed their hope that the Court would not endeavour to introduce innovations as they did not serve any good purpose and should therefore present the members elect at their Board.

In the case of the Mayor's inability to hold a Court for indisposition or for any other reason the custom was that the Senior Alderman would

22 Mayor's Court Records 1755. See also p. 28.
23 Public Proceedings 8th December 1763. pp. 1253-1254.
24 Public Proceedings 8th December 1763, pp. 1154-56.

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act as Mayor. On the 16th of December 1755, Kelsall being absent for his illness, James Vallicourt was elected Mayor. William Nixon was actually the Senior Alderman, but he refused to preside as he was then acting as an attorney for Richard Beecher.[25]

Partiality and corruption were not uncommon among the Calcutta judges, but the most scandalous was that the Court generally supported such vices among its members and often treated in a very high-handed and insulting manner those few of its members who protested against the unlawful and irregular proceedings. Sometimes questions were raised by inquisitive Aldermen with regard to the procedure followed in a particular case. The majority often rejected such motions either because it was beyond them to answer such questions or the particular Alderman was generally disliked. But the Court failed to realise that if it agreed to those acts then they would be regarded as acts of the Court and would thereby affect everybody in general.[26]

On the 20th July 1749 Meredith an attorney objected to Robert Orme's presiding as judge in the case of Nyan Mullick vs. Z. Holwell and Edward Holden Cruttenden on the ground that Robert Orme previously acted as an attorney for Nyan Mullick.[27] The Court regarded this objection as goundless and rejected his prayer. In connection with the same case on another occasion Mr. Charles Lodwick wrote two letters to the Court.[28] In one of them he tendered his resignation and in the other accused some of the members, sitting in judgment over Nyan Mullick's case, of partiality. The Court accepted his resignation but refused to enter into record his letter containing reflections on the conduct of some of his colleagues. Mr. Irvin an Alderman dissented from it and held that the letter ought to be entered in the fair book of the Court and the charges explained and answered. Mr. Coales one of his colleagues ridiculed Mr. Irvin by saying that the proceedings did stand in the foul book not in the fair book. The Court appointed William Shiers in the place vacated by Charles Lodwick.

Once Mr. Irvin put the following question before the Court. "Whether every member hath a power to mention his dissent on the day

25 Mayor's Court Records, 1755. See also p. 34.

26 Public General Letters from Court, dated London the 31st January 1755, paragraph 122.

27 Mayor's Court Records 1749, p. 125. 28 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

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of the Decree with leave to defer his reasons till next Court day and upon so doing whether such a member hath a power to demand the next Court day that his dissent be entered with his reasons at large as expressed in the paper."[29] The Court rejected the motion of James Irvin that the reasons be entered. The Court here was restricting the freedom of the judge to give his opinion without fear or favour. Probably the Court apprehended that if this thing was allowed, many unlawful practices might come before the notice of the Court of Directors for whose examination the proceedings of the Court were submitted from time to time, and the opinion formed by the home authorities in that case would be anything but favourable.

Mr. Holland Goddard requested the Court to clarify certain points with regard to the function of a trial judge in relation to the putting of interrogatories to the parties for examination of the witnesses. His confusion with regard to them however proves his own ignorance of the preliminary rules of procedure and the Court acted well in taking the following resolution "Goddard referred to Charter and Instructions and to his own judgment for the solution of his querries."[30] Goddard regarded this as an insult and begged to be excused sitting any more as a judge in the cause between Holwell and Nyan Mullick.

What induced the Mayor's Court to take cognisance of the bill of complaint that Dumbleton filed on behalf of Sarah Shadow is not easy to find out but the said act, as it transpired afterwards, was certainly very ill advised.[31] Mr. Goddard and Gray most probably voted against it and thereby they incurred the displeasure of the Court. An application was presented to the Board for the removal of these two gentlemen. In a letter to the Board, the Court of Directors wrote "we are of opinion every member of this Court has a right to give his opinion and vote as he thinks fit, and the Court ought not to have received Mr. Dumbleton's information. We think Mr. Goddard and Mr. Gray had a right as Alderman to vote in these questions and that our Governor and Council were likewise right in dismissing the application that was made to them for removing Mr. Goddard and Gray from their office of Alderman on this account."[32]

29 Mayor's Court Records 1749, p. 76.
30 *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.
31 See page 49.
32 Public General Letters from Court, London 31st January 1755, para 122.

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So far as our information goes three[33] among those who served as Aldermen at different times were medical men. One of them was Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell. Holwell began his career as a Surgeon. He was an Alderman of the Mayor's Court in 1748-49[34] and sometime in that year was elevated to the office of the Mayor.[35] Subsequently he was appointed as the Zamindar[36] and in that capacity was involved in a quarrel with the Mayor's Court over the question of jurisdiction. The second one was William Fullerton. He appears to have been in charge of a hospital in Calcutta. In 1760 he wrote a letter to the Council begging leave to resign his surgeancy.[37] He was twice presented by the Register to the Board to be elected Mayor, once along with Kelsall, and on another occasion with Anselm Beaumont. Kelsall got the better of him. But Beaumont was less fortunate and Fullerton was appointed Mayor on 24th March, 1757, and again on the 20th December, 1757.[38] Bartholomew Plaisted who turned out to be over zealous in defending the prestige and dignity of the Court against the Council's interference rendered valuable services to the Bengal Government as a surveyor. He was also the author of a book containing his experience as a traveller. Being pressed by the Council he had to apologise for his[39] outburst against that body and Mr. Holwell. In 1757 he was refused permission to return to Bengal after he had gone on furlough to England on account of "his turbulent temper and unbecoming behaviour, lessening the Government in the eyes of the whole settlement."[40]

John Levett, who served as an Alderman in the days of Harry Verelst and afterwards, appears to have been very obedient to the Council. In his correspondence with the Board he scrupulously avoided any statement that might give them cause for suspicion. His treatment of Whittall is hardly commendable. On one occasion in an open Court he called that attorney an incendiary and added with a sneer that his demand for the filing of certain papers would be complied with. He along with Goodwin

33 Public Proceedings 1759 p. 181. The Third one was George Gray.
34 Long's Selections, p. xlv.
35 Mayor's Court Records 1748-1749, p. 1.
36 See pages 46-47.
37 Public Proceedings 1760, p. 582.
38 Public Proceedings 1757, pp. 66-69, 458-462.
39 Plaisted's Book—"A Journey from Calcutta to Bussorah and then across the Desert in 1750."
40 Long's Selections, p. 83 footnote. See also p. 52.

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and Killican appears to have been instrumental in bringing about the dismissal of Whittall.[41] From his letter dated the 13th February 1774 we learn that Mr. Levett was a dealer in Arrack trade and had at that time at his disposal a factory large enough to supply Bengal and other of the Company's settlements in India whose demand for Arrack till then had been met by the Dutch.[42] This most obedient and humble servant of the Company unwillingly (as he maintained) appended his signature to a petition sent to the Board by the Court's members praying for the bestowing of the benefit of Dustucks upon those who were not Company's servants. The petition was signed by nine members and Levett[43] who was afraid of alienating his colleagues signed it. But in a letter dated 24th September 1771 to the Board he prayed that his name might be expunged before the application was transmitted to the Directors.[44] Levett covered up his weakness by representing that his signing it was a hasty act. In order that his motives might not be misconstrued by the Council, Levett asserted that he did not flatter himself with the idea that the application would meet with success.

It was the custom of the Mayor's Court to appoint its members as executors and administrators to the estates of the deceased European residents of Calcutta, in case no suitable person could be found to manage them. The unscrupulous among the honourable members of the Court took advantage of the office to mismanage the estates and to misappropriate the money. In an appeal preferred to the Privy Council by Mrs. Frances Altham against Mr. George Gray trustee to Mrs. Altham's former husband Mr. Perry Purple Templer, it was alleged that the said Alderman had misused the money.[45] But perhaps the most interesting case is that of Holland Goddard. That gentleman appears to have enriched himself by lending out the money of the deceased at a high rate of interest on more than one occasion. The suit that he instituted against Rash Behary Seat shows that he made that unwilling native borrow a considerable sum of money and made him promise to keep it

41 See page 69 and also Bolts' Considerations, vol. III, p. 267.
42 Home Dept. Public Cons. 18th Feb. 1774 No. 10.
43 Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 2nd Sep. 1771 No. 1.
44 Home Dept. Public Cons. 24th September 1771 No. 4.
45 Pub. Dept. Copies of Records obtained from the India Office, 12th Dec. 1754, pp 102-105.

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for ten years at the rate of 9 per cent per annum.[46] Goddard seems to have knowledge of Bengali and spoke to Rash Behary Seat in that language in order to convince him.[47] Goddard succeeded in the meantime in making over the money at Fort Saint Davids to those to whom it legally belonged and as the sum of money lent out to Rash Behary became his property he insisted on its immediate payment.[48] He apprehended that on Rash Behary Seat's failure to pay the debt his own property would be lost. The interest accruing from the sum lent out and actually paid by the native was evidently misappropriated by him. In his letter dated the 7th December, 1754 Goddard informed the Secretary of the Board that the creditors of William Young deceased had made him liable for a large sum of money that he probably had made by way of interest and profit as the money came into his hand. The Council had ordered him along with Kempe to leave for England.[49] In reply Goddard wrote, "should I attempt to go on board ship, the complainants would procure a warrant from the Mayor's Court to arrest me at the Boat side and by the means stop and confine me here and prevent my complying with the Companies orders tho' my Intentions are ever so good."[50]

Honesty and uprightness were held not much in esteem by the Court's members and any one who tried to be upright was disliked by his colleague. One instance of this is the case of Joseph Cator.[51] It was he who voted against the removal of Bolts without proper trial, it was he also who asserted the illegality of the proceeding against Mr. Whittall. In 1771 (22nd December) the Mayor's court taking up the charges laid against him by Charles Child resolved to bring the matter to the notice of the Board.[52] On the 15th of January 1722 Joseph Cator submitted his deposition before the Council in which he asserted that Goodwin had uttered the remarks as alleged by Whittall.[53] It appears that on the 28th

46 Mayor's Court Records 1749, pp. 101-104 see also Appendix G. p. 108.

47 Mayor's Court Records 1740, p. 102 Deposition of Mandeb Sarma.

48 See Appendix G. p. 109. Deposition of Ramkissen Seat.

49 Long's Selections, p. 46. footnote.

50 Pub. Dept. Copies of Records obtained from the India Office 12th Dec. 1754, pp. 102-105.

51 Mayor's Court Letters Copy Book 1764-1769. Joseph Cator was offered the seat of Alderman on the 12th Feb. 1768. Goodwin was selected as the person to swear him to the office of Alderman.

52 Mayor's Court Records 1771, p. 399.

53 Home Dept. Public Cons. 30 Jany. 1772 No. 8.

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of February 1772 Joseph Cator was removed.[54] Most probably his opposition to Goodwin and his associates cost him his Aldermanship.

Forty five years after the Mayor's Court had been established the Aldermen considered it worth while to place before the President and Council a petition praying for the bestowal of the privilege of Dustuck on those members of the Court who were not Company's servants.[55] The "Mayor and Aldermen beg leave to represent that as the European Inhabitants in Bengal are within a few years greatly increased; the Business of the said Court is much greater than formerly, and requires a much more constant attendance of the members. That notwithstanding which, through their diligence and care the business is kept in such order, that no one has the least reason to complain the Delay of their causes." (2nd September 1771).

The volume of work, as the reecord shows, no doubt had increased as the petitioners asserted; but the difficulty of obtaining a decent subsistence was not a new event in the life of the Alderman in 1771 as he was ridiculously ill-paid. The members in the days when the Court was not sitting surely attempted to tap some other source of income in order to make a decent living. Bolts asserts some of them were given the right to carry on private trade in direct violation of the law confining it only to the Company's servants. What the members resented in 1771 was their constant attendance in the Court under pressure of heavy work whereby they got no time to look after their own private business. The petty pittance they received however had been a long felt grievance and ought to have been redressed. "The Aldermen of the Mayor's Court" wrote Levett "are appointed for life" and are "individuals being called to perpetual servitude for the community without an adequate recompense suitable to their station and services."[56]

If the Alderman's knowledge of law was meagre, that of the Attorneys was no better. In 1767, Lord Clive remarked in a despatch, "Calcutta is the place where the profession of the law is exercised by men who seem to derive all their knowledge by inheritance, or to possess it by intuition, without previous study or application."[57] The bills of com-

54 Public Proceedings 1772, p. 430.
55 Home Dept. Pub. Cons. 2nd September 1771 No. 1.
56 Home Dept. Public Cons. 24th September 1771 No. 4.
57 Long's Selections, p. xxxi.

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plaints drafted by these lawyers in few instances conformed to the rules specified for that purpose and often contained scandalous matters injurious to the character and reputation of the parties involved. The ridiculous way in which the matters were presented sometimes provokes laughter but in many cases the malicious intent of the writer of such bills is easily discerned. While reviewing the case of Dawson vs. Brooke, the Court of Directors severely condemned such practices and ordered that the Attorney should pay the cost of expunging the bill of scandalous and impertinent matters.[58]

The Mayor's Court followed the usual practice of appointing four Attorneys. In 1748 49 Dumbleton Mackpherson, Bodley and Meredith appear to have been the attorneys serving in the Mayor's Court. In 1753 Dumbleton and Meredith were retained but Mackpherson and Bodley were supplanted by Ridge. In 1771 also we come across the names of four attorneys.[59] Any individual Alderman could if he so desired act as attorney in a particular case. In that case however he had to vacate temporarily his seat on the Bench. In 1755 William Nixon acted as an attorney for Richard Beecher. He therefore refused to sit as a judge.[60] Cator also followed the same practice when he acted as an attorney for Mr. Bolts. Unfortunately we know very little or practically nothing about the fees charged by these attorneys for their services or about their relations with their clients. But clients bent on cheating the attorneys of their just fees were not rare in those days. Almost all the attorneys who practised in the Court in 1771 had bitter experience of this.[61] At the instance of James Driver, an attorney, warrant of execution was issued by the Court against the body of Manick Thakoor for C Rs. 214-8-3 and on another occasion against Ramkissore Dutta for C Rs. 323/-.[62] Mirza Petruse, an Armenian, failed to meet the demand of Driver. Accordingly when Driver was called upon to defend him in a suit he begged to withdraw his appearance. The Court granted his prayer and appointed one Christian Frederick Brix as the attorney.[63] It is not known how the latter was treated by Petruse.

58 Mayor's Court Records, Letter Book vol. 28, 1753, para 16.

59 Bolts' "Considerations etc." vol. I, Appendix, Whittall says that there were four attorneys practising in the Mayor's Court in 1766-1767.

60 Mayor's Court Records 1755.

61 Mayor's Court Records 1771.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. 239, 253.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

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Both the Mayor's Court and the Council were not very favourably disposed towards the unfortunate attorneys. Even the slightest offence on their part did not go unpunished, and questions of legality or otherwise of the proceedings never troubled the minds of the authorities. Mr. Dumbleton, an attorney of the Mayor's Court, appears to have been the author of a bill of complaint which raised a hornet's nest among the Court, Council, and the Zemindar.[64] The authorities both at home and at Fort William disapproved of his conduct and made him feel that if he were to stay at Calcutta he would do so by sufferance. "It hath been represented to us", wrote the Directors, "that one Dumbleton acting as an attorney was principally concerned in bringing the affair in an extra-judicial manner, of Sarah Shadow before the Mayor's Court, we do not find that he resides in Bengal with leave from us or under our license. If that is the case, and you find him inclinable to foment disputes and of a litigious disposition you may send him home to Europe."[65] Dumbleton was forgiven and was appointed the Register of the Mayor's Court.[66] From a letter of Council of Revenues at Moorshidabad it appears that he served as an assistant there. He died sometime in 1770-71.[67] There must be two Dumbletons otherwise Long's opinion that Dumbleton perished in the Black Hole cannot be accepted. Long's view that Dumbleton was in 1755 the only attorney at Calcutta is also not true.[68]

George Sparks was another attorney who fell a victim to the wrath of the President and Council. He came to India sometime in 1741-42. The way in which he was first brought to the notice of the Board at Calcutta is interesting and funny. He was the chief mate of the Sloop Mermaid that was wrecked off the coat of Calingapatam.[69] Captains Burton and Samson threw the blame on him. Sparks was however forgiven. He represented to the Board that he was out of employment and prayed for gratuity for taking and bringing a French Prize-ship. In 1762 he asked for permission to go to Balasore to build a sloop in order to procure rice

64 See page 49.

65 Long's Selections No. 213.

66 Mayor's Court Records 1755.

67 Original Consultation 23rd May 1771 No. 10.

68 Long's statement is incorrect. In the Mayor's Court Records 1755 we come across the names of Putham, Bendall and Ridge besides the name of Dumbleton. Thus there were at least three attorneys besides Dumbleton who practised in the Mayor's Court in 1755.

69 Public Proceedings 1759, pp. 415, 423.

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and curry for himself and his family.[70] During the early part of his career he appears to have been a poor man. After doing sundry jobs he entered the Mayor's Court as an attorney. Fortune smiled on him and at the end of his career George Sparks came to possess a sum of ten thousand pounds and to own a garden house at Calcutta.[71] He does not appear to have been an honest man and he built up his fortune not so much by his earnings as an attorney as by various fradulent means. It sometimes happened that native merchants after their failure to realise their money they had lent out sold the bonds at a considerable discount to the Europeans at Calcutta. George Sparks used to buy such bonds and on them instituted suits in the Mayor's Court. One such suit he brought against Myr Ashroff of Patna as an assignee of the bond of Bollackeydoss given to the latter by Myr Ashroff.[72] The most interesting thing to note here is the alleged defalcation of money by Sparks paid to him by Muhan Prosaud, a black merchant. It appears from a bill of complaint filed by Muhan Prosaud on 22nd July 1760, that he delivered to Sparks one thousand and nine hundred Arcot rupees which sum George Sparks wanted for a lottery. "The amounts of great part whereof," so wrote Muhan Prosaud, said Sparks has received from the adventurous in the said lottery and has appropriated to his own account thereof."[73]

It is as an attorney of Bolts that George Sparks incurred the displeasure of the President and Council. Hatred and fury that Bolts' conduct engendered in the heart of the Governor did not leave Sparks unscathed. So he ended his career as he had begun on board a sloop, but that in a different way. No longer in the prime of life, George was then a doomed man brought to the death's door. The vengeance of the Governor had robbed him, to the last penny, of his fortune and reduced him to a pauper.[74]

Richard Whittall's lot was even worse than that of George Sparks. He was sworn and admitted as an attorney of the Mayor's Court on the

70 Copies of Records obtained from the India Office 10th May 1762 p. 19.

71 See pp. 87-88.

72 Public Original Cons. 5th Oct. 1768 No. 3. Petition of Durponaran Tagoor, see also p. 62.

73 Mayor's Court Records—Bills of complaint 1760. It is interesting to note that in the famous case of forgery brought before the Supreme Court against Nundcomer, this Muhon Prosaud was the plaintiff.

74 See page 89.

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6th March 1767. By diligence and honesty he picked up within a very short time a good practice and acquired a great reputation.[75] His candour and outspokenness was perhaps not liked by Cornelius Goodwin, the then Alderman of the Court whose displeasure Whittall incurred by acting as an attorney for Raja Nundcomer in a suit between Nundcomer and Johannes Bogdazar. Johannes Bogdazar was an intimate friend of Goodwin and the decision in the case went in his favour. When Whittall begged leave to appeal from the decree Goodwin is reported to have broken forth into a violent and unseemly rage and declared that Whittall "being an Attorney of the said Court (Mayor's Court) for daring to appeal the causes above named should be expelled." The repeated threats of dismissal hurled at him by Goodwin injuriously affected his practice as an attorney and Whittall intimated this fact to Goodwin. But nothing came out of it

On the 13th of June 1769, Hamilton, a Surgeon submitted a memorial to the Mayor's Court wherein he made certain observations regarding Cornelius Goodwin's conduct in determining a case at his own residence —a case that was still pending in the Court.[76] Whittall who was an attorney for Hamilton in his suit against one Rama Baboo was called upon to explain the matter. In his remonstrance the attorney made an allegation of partiality shown by David Killican the Mayor and Goodwin towards Rama Baboo and moved the Court that he might bring witnesses to prove his allegation. In order to prevent such public hearing Whittall was dismissed.

It appears from the account of Whittall that after Mr. Patrick McTaggart had obtained a decree of £250 sterling against Mary Morgan, that lady was released by Simeon Droz the Sheriff out of his custody. This was done without any authority from the Court. Whittall submitted and the Aldermen agreed with him that Droz must be made liable for the money. Droz however consented to pay the debt and told McTaggart that he would repay himself by a mortgage of Mrs. Morgan. The contention of the Court when it dismissed Whittall was that he had fraudulently obtained money from Mr. Droz acquainting him that the suit was decreed by the Court. Immediately after his dismissal the

75 Bolts' "Considerations" vol. I, Appendix. The case of Mr. Richard Whittall (pp. 56-80).

76 Bolts' "Considerations" vol. I, Appendix. The Memorial of Thomas Hamilton.

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Register produced a copy of the receipt whereby it appeared that Whittall did not give any false information laid to his charge.

The malice and resentment of the Court could not be so easily gratified. While Whittall was staying at Chandernagore Mr. May the Register applied for a warrant of execution against his effects to pay monthly register bills. In 1770 Goodwin, Levett and Killican moved by Atkinson to grant warrant of execution against the effects of Kissenchurn Tagore and Ramsunder Bauragee on behalf of Whittall for his own proper fees refused the prayer on the ground that Whittall was outside the Court's jurisdiction while Atkinson and Graham were trying to do something for him he embarked for England.[77] John Dunning giving his opinion on the case of Richard Whittall observed that the order of dismissal was a gross act of injustice. In the order of dismissal the causes for which Whittall was therein said to have merited and received several reprehensions of the said Court were not assigned.

The whole affair bears witness to the high handedness of the Court. George Sparks is entitled to pity but Whittall deserves sympathy as he was an honest man The proceedings relating to his dismissal are important in that they reveal to us the vices that were prevalent among the Court's members and in that they are indicating of the real state of affairs inside the Court. Goodwin's attempt to decide cases out of Court is reprehensible. He seems to have been haughty and short tempered and could be easily nettled. His frequent outbursts of fury and his attitude of latent hostility towards Whittall proves the truth of Cator's deposition. The reversal of the decision of Goodwin and his colleague in the case of Johannes Bogdazar by the Council testifies to the partial distribution of justice generally alleged against the Court's members. Goodwin and Killican did not hesitate to openly favour the parties in whom they were interested. Several warrants against Rama Baboo were suppressed by them because the said Rama Baboo had lent Rs. 15,000/- to Goodwin and a considerable sum to David Killican. The illegal practices followed by the Alderman did not stop there. John Bathoe a member of the Court was accused of altering and redrawing the minutes relating to Whittall's dismissal. George Sparks, attorney for Whittall, asserted that he was an eye witness to the fact stated.[78]

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77 Bolts' "Considerations" vol. I, Appendix. The case of Mr. Richard Whittall.

78 *Ibid.*

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MISCELLANY

"Kāñci Kāverī Expedition" of Puruṣottama Gajapati—Its probable date

Notwithstanding the investigations of several scholars,* some of the points in this legend Kāñci-Kāverī need careful examination. The *Mādalā Pānji*, the *Kāñci-Kāveri Pothi* and the *Kaṭakarāja-vaṁśāvali* with slight differences supply us with the interesting story of Puruṣottama's raid against Kāñci and his marriage with Padmāvatī, the daughter of its ruler. The story runs as follows: Puruṣottama "wanted to marry the daughter of the king of Karnāṭa whose capital was Kāñci."[1] But the king of Karnāṭa rejected the proposal on the ground that the rulers of Orissa "were in the habit of performing the duties of a sweeper before the image of Jagannātha on its being brought out annually".[2] The Gajapati with wounded pride swore that he would obtain the damsel by force and give her in marriage to a 'sweeper'. He marched against the ruler of Kāñci but was defeated. He prayed to God Jagannātha to help him. Lord Jagannātha, it is stated, "to avenge the insult offered to the deity himself in the person of his worshipper" led the Orissa forces against Kāñci in the guise of "Balarama and Srikrishna."[3] The ruler of Karnāṭa was defeated and Puruṣottama "won the damsel along with a large fortune. The *Mādala Pānji* and the *Kāñci-Kāverī Pothi* say that the king reached the capital and while he was sweeping the floor before the car of the God Jagannātha the damsel was offered to him in marriage. *Kaṭakarāja-vaṁśāvali* gives us the additional detail that "Puruṣottama after crossing Godāvarī found" the king of Kāñci advancing against him with a large army stopped on the other side of the river." The king now.....felt anxious and asked (his *Purohit*) Godāvarī Rājaguru to protect the army from attack by his miraculous powers. The *Purohit*

* P. Mukherjee tried to establish the history of this legend in his article "Historicity of Kāñci-Kāverī Tradition" in *IHQ.*, vol. XXI. pp. 41, 44. Since some of his statements are open to doubt, I have attempted in the following pages to re-examine the question and ascertain the date of this event.

1 Stirling, *Orissa*, p. 129 ff.; *Kaṭakaraja Vaṁśāvali* (Further Sources. III. p. 68), says that he was the ruler of Kāñci.

2 Stirling, *Orissa*, p. 130.

3 Further Sources. III. p. 69

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uttered a *mantra* and the waters of the river began to swell rendering it impossible for the enemy to cross".[4] The king reached his capital and ordered the installation of the image of Sākṣī-Gopāla in a village Caturdvāranāmanagara on the banks of the Mahānadī. The Bengali biographer of Caitanya, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* also wrote that "Puruṣottama, the Raja of Orissa, conquered the country in battle and seized the many jewelled throne named Mānik-simhāsan. Puruṣottama Dev was a great devotee and entreated Gopal to go to his capital. Gopal was pleased with his piety, consented and was taken to Kaṭak, where his worship was installed. The Raja gave the Mānik-simhāsana to Jagannātha."[5]

Late R.D. Banerji[6] dismissed the story of Puruṣottama's marriage as recorded in this legend as a "mere romance." But he found no reason to disbelieve the account of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja regarding the story of Sākṣī-Gopāla and the jewelled throne. He even saw resemblances between the stone altar of God Jagannātha at Puri and the "bizarre arabesque of the decadent Hoysala type, which one sees in the temple of Hazara Ramaswami temple at Vijayanagara." If we are to agree with R.D. Banerji then we have to presume that Puruṣottama led the campaign against Vijayanagara the capital of the Hindu kingdom of the same name. But the legend says that the images were brought from Kāñci. Late Tarinicharan Rath who is strongly convinced of the historicity of this tradition observed that "it is indeed difficult to fix with precision the date of this Kañci Kāverī expedition of king Puruṣottamadeva and find out the name of his contemporary king of Karnāṭa with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavatī he married."[7] This same writer identified the heroine of this legend Padmavatī with Rupāmbikā, wife of Puruṣottama and mother of Pratāparudra.

P. Mukherji tried to establish the historicity of the "Kāñci-Kāveri Tradition" in his recent article.[8] After discussing in detail all the connected topics, namely, the tradition of Sākṣī-Gōpāla, history of Hamvīra Ray, illegitimacy of Puruṣottama, the story of the disputed succession after the death of Kapilendra, date of Puruṣottama's accession, probable date and cause of the expedition etc., he arrived at the con-

4 Further Sources, III, p. 69.
5 Sarkar—Caitanya, p. 25.
6 *History of Orissa*, p. 316.
7 *IBORS.*, vol. V, p. 146 ff.
8 *IHQ.*, vol. XXI, No. 1, March 1945, p. 34 ff.

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clusion that though the story reads like legend or fiction invented by popular fancy, it has sound historical facts as its basis. In his opinion, the campaign was against Sāḷuva Narasiṁha and these incidents belonged to 1469 A.D. when the Gajapati empire was at its zenith and when there was no need for Puruṣottama to conquer Rajahmundry.[9] Further in support of his conclusion he cited the "pictorial representation of the Kāñci-Kāverī expedition, on a wall of the audience hall of the temple of Jagannātha" which was later described by Balarāma Dāsa, contemporary of Pratāparudra in his Vedīparikramā[10] (A walk around the sacred enclosure).

The date fixed by Mukherji for Kāñci expedition of Puruṣottama does not appear to be quite correct. In 1469 as supposed by Mukherji, Puruṣottama's power did not extend as far as river Penna.

In 1464 A.D. Kapilendra was the undisputed master of the land from the Ganges in the north to Trichinopoly in the south along the coast.[11] He could proudly assume the high sounding title "*Gajapati Gauḍeśvara Navakōṭi Karnāṭa Kalavarageśvara*" with due justification. The Gopīnathpur inscription[12] describes his position aptly as follows:

"Kṛtvā samyati mālav-endra jayinam senādhinādham tu yam
Gauḍ-endrasya nitāntam-utkalapatha prasthāna rodhārgalam
Śrikhaṇḍādri payodharopari karam nirmāya Kāñci harah
Sānandam Kapileśvarō viharato Karnāta Rājaśriyā".

But he could not enjoy this peace and prosperity for long. He was very much distressed by a revolt against his authority by some of his own subordinates. One of the inscriptions[13] at Jagannātha records an expression of his wounded feelings thus "Oh Jagannātha thy

9 *Ibid.*, p. 3: While examining the legend of Sākṣi Gōpāla he expressed his opinion that it had no connection with the Kāñci expedition. Though Kṛṣnadāsa Kavirāja, Brindavanadāsa and Kavikarnapūra have referred to this incident in their works, he argued that they always used 'Vidyanagara' to denote Rajahmundry and any attempts at the identification of 'Vidyanagara' with Vijayanagara, the capital of the Hindu Kingdom of the same name is not tenable.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

11 51 and 92 of 1919.

12 *JASB.*, LXIX, p. 175 ff.

13 *JASB.*, LXII, 1893 pages 88 ff. dated 35th Aṅka Mesa kr. 4 Wednesday (28th April 1464 A.D.).

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servant thus informeth the high officers in the kingdom. From soldiers and servants (illegible probably upto them) I looked after all from boyhood. Now they have forsaken me Jagannātha judge the correctness or incorrectness of mine acts". This inscription is dated in his 35th Aṅka (1464 A.D.). According to *Mādalā Pāñji* in the 35th Aṅka of Kapilendra's reign, the Zamindars of Kundazhōri, broke out in rebellion. Kundajhori or its variant as given in *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvali* Kṛṣṇajhōri, means bank of Kṛṣṇā. The expression of the wounded feelings recorded in the Jagannātha inscription cited above was perhaps an outcome of this revolt. It is also possible to infer that some of the high officers of the state had assisted these rebels. Who were the servants that had forsaken him?

We know from inscriptions[14] of Munnur and Jambai, that Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra was then ruling over the southern province as viceroy of Kapilendra from Koṇḍavīḍu. He was the son of Hamvīra the eldest son of Kapilendra and hence a grandson of Kapilendra Deva. Kapilendra's eldest son, Hamvīra helped him throughout his long career of wars. Anantavaram plates[15] of Pratāparudra make him the leader of the southern campaign. We do not know exactly if he and his son have themselves rebelled. It is very likely since Kapilendra himself marched to the south at the head of his forces. The Bezwada inscription[16] of that ruler dated Śaka 1387 (1465-66) mentions him to be staying on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā.

The *Mādala Pāñji* records that Puruṣottama was anointed on the banks of Kṛṣṇā. The story goes that "Kapilendra had eighteen sons and could not decide upon whom he should bestow his kingdom. He invoked God Jagannātha to help him in the matter. God Jagannātha appeared before him in a dream and selected Puruṣottama as the successor. So the king after informing the ministers about God's wish retired with the boy to the banks of Kṛṣṇā where he subsequently died on Pauṣa Kṛṣṇā 3, Tuesday". This anointment must have taken place some time before 1465-66 the first regnal year of Puruṣottama.[17]

14 51 and 92 of 1919. 15 *Andhra Patrika Annual*, 1928.
16 761 *SII.*, vol. IV.
17 From the inscription of Puruṣottama Gajapati coming from Srikurmam and other places we can fix the date of his accession as 1465-66.

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What necessitated Kapilendra to nominate and crown Puruṣottama in 1465-66 on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā? Kapilendra came down to the south with the object of suppressing the rebels. He found his health failing and his anxiety increasing by the acts of his son Hamvīra who appears to have joined hands with the rebels. A greater danger to the kingdom loomed large from the south. Although Virupākṣa the Rāya of Vijayanagara was weak Sāḷuva Narasiṁha his Viceroy at Candragiri began the task of redeeming the country from the Oriya yoke[18].

This rising power of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha threatened the very existence of the Orissa kingdom, Kapilendra whose health was failing being disappointed with his eldest son Hamvīra, to ensure the loyalties of his officers at least to his youngest son Puruṣottama crowned him on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. After this incident Kapilendra seemed to have lived for some time. The news of his death reached the Bahmani court[19] in 1470. So his death must have occurred after December 14, 1466, his last known date and about Puruṣottama's first known date. Between these two years 1466 and 1470 the details as given in *Mādalā Pāñji* are true of January 12, 1468. The conclusion is obvious. Kapilendra died on that date. Puruṣottama went back to his capital. Hamvīra continued to fight singlehanded for some time after the death of his father, but when Puruṣottama supported by the will of his late sire proved too strong for him and when

No.	Place	Aṅka.	Date as given in the inscription.	Date in X'an era.	Reference.
1.	Srikūrmam	7	Ś. 1392 Āsvīja Su. 7 Maṅgalavāre.	25th Sept. 1470.	365 of 1896
2.	Srikūrmam.	7	Ś. 1393 Khara Caitra Ba. 10 Sunday.	11th April 1471.	366 of 1896
3.	Copper plate lead inscription from Balasore.		Mēsh-di-10 Somavāra	6th March 1486.	Indo. Ant. Vol. I p. 355

From the above it is clear that the 2nd Aṅka or the first regnal year of Puruṣottama Gajapati corresponds to 1465-66 A.D.

18 53 of 1919: *Sāluvābhyudayam, Jaiminibhāratam, Varāhapurāṇam* etc. *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 93 ff.

19 Burhan-I-Ma'asir *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII; Briggs's Ferishta II p. 487 ff.

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Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's pressure from the south became irresistible he was compelled to turn to the Bahmanis for help. From Ferishta[20] we learn that "in the year 876 A.H. Ambur Ray cousin of the Ray of Oorea, complained to Mahomed Shah that the Ray being dead, Mungal Ray, a Brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claims to its inheritance and Ambur Ray now promised, if the king would assist him with the troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea including Rajahmundry and Kondapalle (Condapille) thought his request favourable to his views, and by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan' having conferred the title of Nizam-ul-Moolk on Mullik Hussan. Bhery directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter." Sayed Ali[21] with some minor differences gives us a similar picture of the events. The inscriptions of Puruṣottama also enable us to fix the date of Muslim intervention almost about the same time as chronicled by Ferista. Till 1472 A.D. Puruṣottama was the acknowledged ruler of Orissa[22] and from that date to June 1476 we do not find any inscription of that monarch anywhere. If the provenance of inscriptions had any bearing on the rise and fall of his fortunes, and if Ferishta was giving a correct picture of events of Orissa during this period then "Ambur's installation" on the throne of Orissa should have taken place some time after 1472 October. For the help rendered by the Bahmanis the new Raya of Orissa was obliged to cede to them the districts of Rajahmundry and Kondapalli (Kondavidu according to Burhan-I-Ma'asir).

Thus it is clear from the above that from the time of his anointment, i.e. 1465-66 till he lost his throne to Hamvīra in 1472-73, Puruṣottama was fighting with his brother, and as such he could not have been in a position to undertake a campaign against the ruler of Kāñci in 1469, either for the girl Padminī or "to complete the work left unfinished by his father". Hence the incidents mentioned in the legend should belong to a later period.

20 Burhan-I-Ma'asir *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 286 ff. Briggs's Ferishta II p. 487-88.

21 *Ind. Ant.* vol. XXVIII; pp. 286 ff.

22 844 *SII.*, vol. VI 805 *SII.*, vol. VI; 1153 *SII.*, vol. V.

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The legend informs us that the ruler of Kāñci was also ruler of Karṇāṭa or he became ruler of Karnāṭa subsequently. We know only one such. He was Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who was ruling over North Arcot, South Arcot, Cingleput districts during the period and Kañci was undoubtedly situated in his territories. There were two campaigns against Kāñci and in the first Puruṣottama met with reverses and it was only in the second that he could carry away the girl. The ruler referred to in the legend was undoubtedly Sāḷuva Narasiṁha. He became emperor of Karnāṭa in 1486 whence forward Hampi Vijayanagara was his capital. Since the legend pointedly says that at the time of the campaign Kāñci was the capital and hence it should be dated before 1486 A.D. The *Kaṭakarājavaṁsāvali* asserts that the ruler of Kāñci pursued Puruṣōttama as far as the banks of Godāvarī, and Puruṣōttama, who was then encamped on the other side of the river felt his position most insecure. Muslim historians[23] inform us that Sāḷuva Narasiṁha was encamped on the banks of Godāvarī with a large army in 1476-77 though they do not mention the causes of his stay there. They also refer to the Oriya forces staying on the other side of the river Godāvarī and record that he was defeated by Sultan Muhammed Shah III.

The account of the *Kaṭakarājavaṁsāvali* read with that of Muslim chroniclers enables us to infer that Puruṣottama immediately after the recovery of the throne marched against Rajahmundry, took possession of it[24] and from there led a dashing raid against Kāñci, where the girl fell into his hands. He soon marched back, but was obliged to engage the Bahmani forces on the banks of Godāvarī. He was defeated and was allowed to go to his country after signing a treaty. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha who came up to the banks of the Godāvarī soon realised the possibility of a combined attack by the Bahmani Sultan and the ruler of Orissa. He did not like the prospect of a defeat on the banks of Godāvarī which may ultimately affect his life's ambition namely getting the throne of Vijayanagara. Hence he withdrew without giving battle from the banks of the Godāvarī.

Thus if the legend was really historical, then the incidents mentioned should belong to the years 1475-77 but curiously none of

23 Burhan-I-Ma'asir *IA.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 288.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 288.

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the works from the side of Vijayanagara mention anything about this marriage which is so very well-known in Orissa. From the trend of later events i.e. Kṛṣṇarāya insisting on the marriage with the daughter of Pratāparūdra before any permanent treaty could be concluded, it is possible to suspect that Kṛṣṇarāya was trying to avenge the former humiliation. Let us now examine the story of Sākṣī-Gopāla which is invariably associated with the Kāñci expedition of Puruṣottama Gajapati. According to the *Kaṭakarājavaṁśāvali* the images were brought from Kāñci. But Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* wrote that Puruṣottama conquered *Vidyānagara* and from there he carried away the *Māṇikya Siṁhāsana* and the idol *Sākṣī-Gopāla*. This Vidyānagara mentioned by the Bengali biographer appears to be Rajahmundry. For we find the same author mentioning "Rai Ramananda as a governor of Vidyānagara situated on the Godāvarī." Kavikarṇapura in his drama *Caitanya Candrodaya* writes that "Puruṣottama Gajapati brought the image of Gopala from the Mahendra Desa" (presumably Rajahmundry).

If *Vidyānagara* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja was identical with Rajahmundry then we have to presume that Puruṣottama carried away the idol from Rajahmundry while on his way back from Kāñci but the people believed that it was brought from Kāñci.

Thus the *Kāñci-Kāveri* expedition of Puruṣottama took place in 1475-77 and it was against Sāluva Narasiṁha was then ruling over Kāñci. The idol of Sākṣī-Gopāla which people believed was brought from Kāñci, was actually carried away from Rajahmundry.

R. Subrahmanyam

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Gupta Rule in Orissa

Roughly speaking, Kaliṅga was the ancient name of the land on the eastern coast of India lying between the Mahānadī and the Godavarī, although the land on the river Vaitaraṇī to the east of the Mahanadi was also included in that country. This was Kaliṅga in a comparatively wider sense of the term. The Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions of Aśoka [illegible] that the ancient Kaliṅga country comprised the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa and the adjoining regions. This was Kaliṅga in the narrow sense of the term. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (circa 400 A.D.) associates this country with Mount Mahendra, which is no other than the present Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District, and locates it to the west of Utkala comprising the present Balasore District together with parts of the Midnapur District of West Bengal and the Cuttack District of Orissa. In some inscriptions of about the fifth century A.D., the kings of Siṁhapura (modern Singapuram near Chicacole in the Ganjam District), Vardhamāna (modern Vadama in the Palakonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District), Devapura (headquarters of Devarāṣṭra about the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District) and Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the Godavari District) claim to have been 'lords of Kaliṅga.' The Eastern Gaṅgas began to rule from Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam District) and Dantapura (probably near modern Chicacole) from a date falling in the period 496-98 A.D. (the epoch of the Gaṅga era) and claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga or Trikaliṅga. They were devotees of the god Gokarṇeśvara installed in a temple on the Mahendragiri in the Ganjam District.[1] Some Eastern Calukya inscriptions refer to the Yellamanchili tract of the Vizagapatam District as Madhyama-Kaliṅga or Elāmañci-Kaliṅga.

The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, which refers to the Gupta emperor's victory over a number of kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha about the middle of the fourth century A.D., does not specifically mention Kaliṅga which had possibly split up into several principalities after the downfall of the Cedi-Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty to which the Kaliṅga-cakravartin Khāravela (first century B.C.) belonged.[2] The South Indian contem-

1 Vide *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, 76-84.

2 The name of Śiśupālgarh near Bhubaneswar possibly suggests that it was coined after an Orissan Cedi king of the Mahāmeghavāhana lineage who was himself named after the Epic Cedi hero Śiśupāla.

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poraries of Samudragupta, who are usually assigned to the Kaliṅga region, were Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra (probably Kothur near the Mahendragiri), Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura, Damana of Eraṇḍapalla (probably near Chicacole), and Kubera of Devarāṣṭra. The Allahabad pillar inscription says that the Gupta emperor conquered the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings, including the above rulers of the Kaliṅga region, but that he did not annex their territories. This no doubt suggests that Samudragupta made no serious attempt to maintain effective control over the states of Dakṣiṇāpatha, even if he succeeded in subduing them. The spread of Gupta influence over parts of South India can, however, be traced from such facts as the matrimonial alliances of the Guptas with the Vākāṭakas of Berar and the Kadambas of Banavāsī,[3] the use of the Gupta era in the Halsi plates of Kadamba Kākusthavarman[4] and the Arang plates of Bhīmasena of South Kośala,[5] the imitation of Gupta coin-types by the South Kośala king,[6] finds like that of the Satara hoard of the coins of Kumāragupta I, and others. But so far as Kaliṅga is concerned, the only trace of Gupta influence is probably to be noticed in the Gupta year in the date of the Ganjam inscription of Mādhavavarman II of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Koṅgoda (about the eastern fringe of the Ganjam District)[7] who was a feudatory of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka It is interesting to note that the Midnapur records of the time of Śaśāṅka are dated according to regnal reckoning and not in the Gupta era. Records like the Soro and Patiakela inscriptions of king Śambhuyaśas of Tosalī, both north (comprising the Balasore District) and south (comprising the Puri District and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam),[8] are also dated in the Gupta era[9] and point to Gupta influence in Orissa and apparently also in ancient Kaliṅga itself.

3 *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 256. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

5 *New History of the Indian People*, VI, p. 85.

6 *Loc. cit.* To points noticed there, has now to be added the discovery of the Khairtal hoard of the coins of Mahendrāditya (*JNSI.*, X, p. 137 ff.) who seems to be a fifth century king of South Kośala. He was probably a descendant of Kauśalaka-Mahendra mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and a subordinate ally of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya.

7 The capital of this country, also called Koṅgoda, was situated on the river Śālimā (modern Sāliā). The city was possibly not very far from Bāṇpur on the Sāliā which is two miles from Balugan on the B. N. Ry. between the Khurda Road and Berhampore Railway stations.

8 In the days of the Bhauma-Karas, Koṅgoda-maṇḍala formed a part of South Tosali. 9 *New History of the Indian People*, VI, p. 84, note 1.

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Recently fresh light has been thrown on the relation of the Guptas with Kaliṅga by the discovery of a new inscription. It is a copper-plate grant found from a mound near the village of Sumaṇḍala (not far from Jaugada and Buguda) in the Khallikoṭ State.[10] The inscription is written on four sides of three copper plates which are about nine inches in length and are strung together on a ring, the seal attached to it possibly bearing the emblem of winged Garuḍa. The writing on the first plate is transcribed below:

1 [Siddham||][11] Svasti [*] catur-udadhi-mekhalāyāṁ sapta-dvīpa pa[rvva]ta-sarit-patta[na*]-

2 bhūṣaṇāyām[12] = vasundharāyām = varttamāna-Gupta-rājye varṣa-śata-dvaye

3 pañcāśad-uttare Kaliṅga-rāṣṭram = anuśāsati śrī-Pṛthivīvigraha-

4 bhaṭṭārake tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Padmakholyāṁ Mahārāj-Obhay-ānvayo

5 Bappadevyām = utpanna-tanuḥ Sahasraraśmi-[pā]da-bhakto Mahārāja-Dharmmarā-

6 jah kuśalī Parakkhalamārgga-viṣaye varttamāna-bhavi[ṣya]t-sāma[nta*]-

The above passage quoted from the Sumaṇḍala inscription means to say that when in the Gupta year 250 the Imperial Guptas were ruling over the earth and the *rāṣṭra* (province or territory) of Kaliṅga forming a part of the Gupta empire was being governed by Pṛthivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārāja Dharmmarāja, who was a subordinate ruler having his headquarters at Padmakholī, was a descendant (probably son)[13] of Mahārāja Ubhaya and was born of the queen Bappadevī, and was a devotee of the Sun-god, made a grant of land situated in the *viṣaya* or district called Parakkhalamārgga.

The inscription raises a number of interesting questions. In the first place it says that Kaliṅga formed a part of the Gupta empire, although there is no evidence to prove this from any other sources. Secondly, it refers to the Gupta empire as existing in the Gupta year 250 corresponding to 569 A.D.,[14] although it is usually believed that the Magadha empire

10 See *Manoramā*, vol. I, Part i (Āshāḍha, Śaka 1871), Berhampore, pp. 18-24.

11 Expressed by symbol.

12 Read °*ṇāyāṁ vasundharāyāṁ varttā*°

13 Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 250.

14 The occasion of the grant is elsewhere in the record given as *Māgha-kṛṣṇasy=aikādaśyāṁ=uttarāyane*. (20th December, 569, according to the calculations of Mr. D. N. Mookerjee).

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of the Guptas ceased to exist in the middle of the sixth century, i.e., about two decades before the date of the record under discussion. Thirdly, Pṛthivīvigraha, represented as the Gupta viceroy of Kaliṅga, was ruling in 569 A.D., although the Eastern Gaṅgas were reigning in the territory round Kaliṅganagara and Mahendragiri since 496-98 A.D. and a king named Śambhuyaśas is known to have been the ruler of north and south Tosalī in the years 579 and 602 A.D.

As regards the first point, it must be admitted that there is nothing improbable in the expansion of Gupta power from Magadha over South Kośala and Kaliṅga, although Gupta suzerainty acknowledged in these countries may have been more or less nominal. The language of the record under discussion may, however, suggest that Gupta rule in Kaliṅga spread through south-west Bengal and was not quite nominal. It now seems that Gauḍa rule in Orissa in the first quarter of the seventh century was a result of the earlier occupation of that region by the Imperial Guptas. In regard to the existence of Gupta rule as late as 570 A.D., those scholars who believe that the so-called Later Guptas of the house of Kṛṣṇagupta were later members of the Imperial Gupta family and that they were rulers of Magadha even before the days of Mādhavagupta and Ādityasena would not find any great difficulty in explaining the situation. The writer of these lines, however, finds it difficult to agree with any of these two theories.[15] There is the Jain tradition that the Imperial Guptas ruled only for 231 years, i.e., from 320 A.D. (the epoch of the Gupta era) to 551 A.D.[16] This is probably supported by the assumption of Imperial dignity by the Maukharis, erstwhile feudatories of the Guptas, before 553-54 A.D. which is the date of the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman.[17] But even after the downfall of the Gupta empire there may have been, for some time, a Gupta emperor only in name like the puppet Mughal emperor Shāh 'Alam II in the eighteenth century, and the ruler of Kaliṅga might have continued to owe allegiance to him even when most of his other feudatories had assumed independence. It is also not impossible to think that Pṛthivīvigraha of Kaliṅga was a scion of the Gupta dynasty on the female side and that he wanted to push up his own claim over

15 Cf. *JRASB.*, Letters vol. XI, 1945, pp. 69-74.

16 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, p. 531.

17 This is the generally accepted view, although it is not definitely known that Īśānavarman actually assumed imperial dignity before that date.

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Kaliṅga against those of his rivals by referring to the connection of his dominions with the Gupta empire of glorious name.

In regard to the third point about the rule of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara and of king Śambhuyaśas of Tosalī, it seems that Pṛthivīvigraha just preceded Śambhuyaśas in the government of that part of Kaliṅga which came to be known as Tosalī[18] The relation between Śambhuyaśas and Pṛthivīvigraha cannot be determined; but the former claims to have belonged to, or owed allegiance to, the Māna dynasty. It thus seems that the rule of the Guptas was substituted by that of the Mānas in Orissa shortly after the date of the Sumaṇḍala inscription. The early members of the Śailodbhava family appear to have owed allegiance to the Gupta Viceroy Pṛthivīvigraha and afterwards possibly to Śambhuyaśas. The recently known Kanasa inscription is said to speak of a king named Lokavigraha who may have been another member of the family represented by Pṛthivīvigraha.[19]

Nothing is known from other sources about Mahārāja Dharmarāja, who appears to have been the son of Mahārāja Ubhaya from the queen Bappadevī and ruled over the present Khallikoṭ region as a vassal of Pṛthivīvigraha.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

18 Tosali, originally the name of one of the chief cities of Kaliṅga, has been identified with Dhauli in the Puri District. The establishment of the Gaṅgas at Kaliṅganagara with the title 'lord of Kaliṅga' may have been one of the reasons for applying the new name to Northern Kaliṅga and the adjoining region.

19 See *Manoramā, loc. cit.*

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REVIEWS

THE "SCYTHIAN" PERIOD. (An approach to the history, art, epigraphy and paleography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.) by J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Leiden. E. J. Brill. 1949. 435 pp. with 29 Text figures and 72 figures.

The author has rendered a distinct service to the science of indology by focussing light on one of the most obscure periods of the Indian history, i.e., from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., which he has rightly termed as the "Scythian" period. He has laid under contribution almost all the available materials, particularly, finds of images and inscriptions, and the results of researches of most of the scholars working on this period of Indian history, and this he has done with such thoroughness that one feels that he has said almost the last word on the subject. He has concentrated his attention mainly on three topics, viz., the Eras including the date of accession of Kaṇiṣka to the throne; the Jina and Buddha images of Gandhāra and Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa period; and the political history of India from the 1st century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. Regarding the Eras, he concludes (p. 64) that there was only one era before the accession of Kaṇiṣka and that it began in 129 B.C., and that Kaṇiṣka ascended the throne after 71 A.D. and before 86 A.D. As regards the evolution of Indian art, the author concludes that the Gandharan art was more influenced by India than by the West and in this connection we fully endorse his remark (p. 80) that "it is always interesting to trace the influences exercised by the domain of one's own study on neighbouring countries." His interpretation of the word "Bodhisattva" (vide p. 179) may not be acceptable to all, and his use of the English synonym "creatures" for "*sattva*" is not very happy. His close study of the Buddha images of Sāheṭh-Māheṭh and of Śītalā-Ghāṭī (pp. 232f) is very interesting, and particularly valuable are his studies of the inscriptions found along with the images. In his last chapter on the political history, he has brought together a mass of facts and arrived at the following chronology: Soḍāsa 65-57 B.C.; Moga 51 B.C., and lastly Kaṇiṣka 78-101 A.D.; Vāśiṣka 102-106 A.D.; Huviṣka 111-138 A.D.; Kaṇiṣka II 119 A.D.; Vasudeva I 152-176 A.D.; Kaṇiṣka III 192 A.D.

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The author's ability in collecting and marshalling facts is amazing and he has rendered the task of a reader not particularly interested in this period much easier by placing before him in a nutshell the opinions of different scholars who worked in this field. This work, as such, will be particularly useful to our advanced students, who, I believe, will derive a great benefit from a comprehensive treatise like the present one. The get-up of the book is excellent though the price is rather high.

N. Dutt

DEVĪŚATAKAM of Mahamahopadhyaya Krishna Nath Sarvabhauma. Edited by Janaki Nath Shastri. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series No. 23. Calcutta.

ŚATARAÑJAKUTŪHALAM. Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kāvyatirtha, M.A. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 24.

The Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat has to its credit critical editions of a number of important and useful Sanskrit texts from Bengal. In recent years, editions of several works have been published in the pages of its monthly Sanskrit journal which unfortunately reaches the limited circle of its members. It is gratifying to note that two of these works have been made available separately and included in its series. Of these the *Devīśataka* is a hymn in 100 verses in praise of the Divine Mother composed by Kṛṣṇānanda Sārvabhauma of Kotwalipara in Faridpur, another work of whom, the *Ānandalatikā* composed by the poet jointly with his wife in the year 1574 Ś. E., partly appeared in the Pariṣat journal. The second work, the *Śatarañjakutūhala*, is a small anonymous handbook on the game of chess, an account of which along with several other works already appeared in these pages (XIV. 75-9). The edition of the work is accompanied by an anonymous commentary which will be helpful in following the text with little difficulty. The work is of special interest in view of the comparative paucity of known and published literature on the subject in Sanskrit, though the game of chess is supposed to be of Indian origin. It will be useful in studying the history of the game, especially its development through long years and in different countries. Both the works have been edited with the help of a number of manuscripts, variants from which have been recorded.

Anantalal Thakur

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MAHĀBHĀRATA for the first time critically edited by V. S. Sukthankar and S. K Belvalkar, Fascicules 15 and 16 (Bhīṣmaparvan), Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1946-1947, Demy Quarto, cxcv + 802 pp.

It goes without saying that to the BHĪṢMAPARVAN under review apply without any exception all the praises bestowed on the volumes published earlier. But merely a statement like this, we are afraid, will give a very inadequate idea of the worth of this present volume, unless its one special feature is discussed in detail. The fact that the Bhīṣmaparvan includes the Bhagavadgītā the most admired philosophical text of the Hindus, gives it an importance which other parvans lack. This importance has two very noteable aspects: (1) the suspicion of the reputed western scholars who consider the Bhagavadgītā to be an interpolation in the Mahābhārata and (2) the discovery of the Kashmir recension of the Bhagavadgītā by R. Otto Schrader who claimed for the same an authenticity greater than that of the text generally accepted throughout India for nearly a millennium since the days of Ācārya Śaṃkara.

It can be very reasonably expected that the present critical edition of Bhīṣmaparvan giving the text of the Bhagavadgītā, will throw some light on these problems. It may be said to the credit of the very learned editor that the expectation has been very amply justified. In addition to the regular critical apparatus he has very carefully collected a mass of important additional materials (*vide* pp. lvi-lxi; pp. lxxi-lxxvii; xcii-cii) in the shape of variant readings from the different mss. and commentaries of the Bhagavadgītā, for the fixation of its text. The text constituted from these materials, has, curiously enough, turned out to be one very similar to that commented on by the famous Ācārya Śaṃkara. This seems to have fairly disposed of the claim of Schrader that the Kashmiri recension of the Bhagavadgītā is superior to the commonly accepted one. But Prof. Belvalkar has not stopped at that. He has discussed in detail all the important variants on the basis of which Schrader considered to have established the value of the Kashmirian recension, and has shown (pp.lxxviii-lxxxii) very clearly that most of them can be explained away. Among these some seek to remedy and regularize the grammatical defect of the current text, some seek to simplify and normalize the syntax, while others generally tend to smoothen the difficulties in interpretation

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that have proved troublesome. As for the remaining small number of Schrader's readings, even if Prof. Belvalkar's arguments againt their validity may not be equally convincing to all, faith in such readings will be much shaken by them. And it appears that one would not be far wrong to take Prof. Belvalkar's edition of the Bhagavadgītā as a definitive one till arguments stronger than those advanced by Schrader are put forward.

Even if this edition of the Bhagavadgītā has been an ideal one, as a part of the Bhīṣmaparvan it may call for some remarks. The fact that the learned editor had to give up in case of the Bhagavadgītā the accepted principle of giving preference to variants of Śāradā and Kashmir versions, seems to create some doubt about the Bhagavadgītā being an integral part of the Mahābhārata. The suspicion seems to be strengthened when we see that two of the mss. K4 and Da 2 (of which K4 is very old) omit the text of the Bhagavadgītā, and Devabodha too, who belonged to about 1150 A.C. did not recognize its existence in his commentary to the Bhīṣmaparvan. Prof. Belvalkar has not discussed these points which might have appeared to him to be of minor importance. Omission of a very popular text like the Bhagavadgītā from even two or three mss. cannot, however, be without any special significance. We wished very much to hear the considered opinion, on this point, of Prof. Belvalkar who is not only an expert text critic but a specialist of high order in the history of Indian philosophy and religion.

But apart from this question, scholars will not possibly have any reason to differ from Prof. Belvalkar in all the various opinions he has given in other controversial matters. His utmost care to notice every possible detail in regard to any aspect of a problem compels confidence in his judgment in almost every case. It gives the reviewer the greatest pleasure to say that the editing of the Bhīṣmaparvan could not have been entrusted to a worthier hand, and under the supervision of Prof. Belvalkar the edition of the Mahābhārata will command no less respect and approbation than under his late lamented predecessor V.S. Sukthankar.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Views of Jaimini and Śabara.* Postulates and speculations on the sense of a word and the interpretation of a sentence (both ordinary and scriptural) as found in the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* of Jaimini and *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya* of Śabara have beeen reviewed.

L. B. Keny.—*The Image of Nārāyaṇa.* A panel in the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa, Śaivaite temple at Mahabalipuram, presents a reclining figure generally regarded as an image of Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin. It is argued that as the image is without the figure of Brahmā rising from Viṣṇu's navel, it was originally meant for the representation of Śiva.

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SAH—*Vedic Gods: V.—Rudra Kālī.* This portion of the writer's study on Vedic Gods relates to the conception of Rudra and Kālī.

जैनसिद्धान्तभास्कर Jainasiddhantabhaskara,

vol. XVI, pt. 2 (December, 1949)

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN.—जैन साहित्य में लंका, रत्नद्वीप और सिंहल=*Laṅkā, Ratnadvīpa and Siṃhala in Jaina Literature.* Statements in Jaina literature suggest that Laṅkā, Ratnadvīpa and Siṃhala situated in different islands were mutually related under one supreme rule.

AGARCHAND NAHATA.—महोपाध्याय सहजकीर्ति और उनके ग्रन्थ=*The great Scholar Sahajakīrti and his Works.* The Jain scholar Sahajakīrti of the 17th century wrote several commentaries on ancient Jain works both in Sanskrit and Vernacular. He also composed some religious manuals and secular poems.

VIMALDAS KAUNDEYA. निर्वाण—The discussion centres on the exposition of the word *nirvāṇa* from the Jain point of view.

BHAMBARLAL NAHATA.—सारङ्गसार वृत्तिका विशेष परिचय=*A Descriptive Note on the Sāraṅgasāravṛtti.* Jain writers were fond of paronomasias and have used in their writings words conveying a number of senses. The word *varṇa* in Haṃsapramada's *Sāraṅgasāravṛtti* is said to possess as many as 266 meanings. The *Vṛtti* refers to some historical facts belonging to Akbar's time.

NEMICHANDRA SHASTRI.—जैनधर्मका महान् प्रचारक सम्राट् सम्प्रति=*Emperor Samprati, the great Patron of Jainism.* Samprati, according to certain tradition, was the name of Aśoka's successor in the Maurya line. He is credited with having shown great ardour for Jain

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religion. He constructed temples, made charities and sent missionaries abroad.

Jain Antiquary,

vol. XV, no. II (December 1949)

A. N. Singh.—*History of Mathematics from Jain sources.* The *Dhavalā*, a Jain commentary gives valuable information regarding the knowledge of Arithmatic and Geometry in India before the place-value notation was adopted in the 5th century.

Harimohan Bhattacharyya.—*Jain Critique of the Buddhist Theories of Pramāṇa.* The Yogācāra theory of Pramāṇa and its criticism by Jain writers form the subject-matter of this instalment of the paper.

Kalipada Mitra.—*Some Jain Kings and Ministers.* Kings Durvinīta and Nṛpatuṅga Amoghavarṣa, and ministers Bharata, Nanna and Cāmuṇḍa Rāya of South India made valuable contribution to Jain literature either by their own individual achievements or by patronage of literary men.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute

vol. VI, pt. 3 (May 1949)

P. K. Gode.—*Notes on the Use of Fire Appliances in Ancient India, Greece and Rome.* Numerous references to the churning of fire out of the fire-sticks (*araṇīs*) are found in Vedic as well as post-Vedic literature. The production of fire from sun-gems by focussing the rays of the sun was also known in India from early times. There is a reference in the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* (*circa* 450 A.C.) to the method of producing fire by the friction of flint and iron (लोह-पाषाणज). Pliny however mentions the use of steel, tinder and flint for the production of fire as early as 79 A.C.

G. V. Devasthali.—*Positive Data for the Date of Śabarasvāmin.* The fact that Śabara has analysed the compound *dharmajijñāsā* as a 'Dative Tatpuruṣa', inspite of such Tatpuruṣa being denounced by Patañjali, shows that the latter, even if he had preceded Śabara, was not yet (at the time of Śabara) looked upon as an authority on grammar. Such a period could not have been later than 100 B.C.

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DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYA.—*Tāntrika Work of Vidyāpati.* The discovery of the manuscript of a Tantric treatise called *Āgama-dvaitanirṇaya* of Vidyāpati as also the account of Vidyāpati found in a manuscript of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* show that the great Maithila scholar was of Tāntrika pursuasion at heart.

SIBENDRANATH GHOSAL.—*A Note on Rāso.* Rāsa originally signified Kṛṣṇa's dance. With the widening range of its application, the term 'meant not only mimic dance but also the music which accompanied it.' A particular kind of dramatic works received the appellation of Rāsa or Rāsaka, perhaps for a predominance of dance in it. Gradually, lyric songs gave place to lyric poems with an extension of the theme from the feeling of love to other spheres. Later on, heroic tales became the subject-matter of Rāsaka or Rāso.

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Vedic Studies in the West

It is now over a century and a half since Sir William Jones, as he drew near to the shores of India, gazed with delight on the prospect that lay before him—the vision of an unknown realm to be studied and explored, the actual sight of the mysterious regions as yet known only from the tales of travellers and the reports of missionaries.

It was more than India that Sir William Jones had in view. He spoke of Asia, and he founded what he called a society for inquiring into the history and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia. His interests in fact ranged over India, Arabia, Persia, China, and Tartary. Nevertheless, his work and the work of the society that he founded produced its most fruitful results in the investigation of Indian antiquities.

At the present time, when India is taking its rightful place not only in the political world but also in the sphere of scientific and literary achievement, it appears to be fitting to look back and ask what has been accomplished in the last 100 years. What is the net result of the labours of the many scholars who have devoted their lives to the lore of India? I propose to speak of one aspect, Vedic studies.

Like all scientific inquiries, Vedic research has advanced by a process of trial and error. Inquiries into problems have been started for which even yet we have not the means of solution. This is not a matter for blame. It is only by experience and actual testing that profitable and unprofitable inquiries can be distinguished. But as we look back, even errors or false moves may be found instructive. They bring out more clearly the problems that still lie before us, and show what the next step ought to be.

To make these problems clearer let us look at the state of the ques-

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tion as it stood a hundred years ago. It is exactly a hundred years since Max Müller published the first volume of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary. The publication extended over 24 years from 1849 to 1873. Before this the only printed text of the Veda was Rosen's edition of the *Ṛgveda* and this contained only the first 43 hymns. Between 1861 and 1863 Theodor Aufrecht, one of Max Müller's assistants, published the whole text of the *Ṛgveda* in roman characters. Colebrooke, as early as 1805 had discussed a few of the hymns, and in 1846 Rudolph Roth had published a short work on the literature and history of the Veda, which was translated and published in the Asiatic Society's journal in 1847. Some enthusiastic scholars had begun to translate the hymns direct from the manuscripts. Between 1848 and 1851 Alexandre Langlois brought out a French translation of the whole of the *Ṛgveda*. Horace Hayman Wilson began his translation in 1848. This was completed later by other scholars. All these translations, however, suffered from one defect. They were not direct translations of the Veda, but of the commentator Sāyaṇa. Yet however important it is to know how Sāyaṇa, a south Indian of the 14th century A.D., understood the hymns, it is not possible to be sure that he has always said the last word. This was pointed out by Roth. He spoke with great respect for Sāyaṇa, and declared that Sāyaṇa would always be the chief source for the interpretation of the Veda, as well as a mine for the history of literature in general. But this was not the way in which Roth's followers understood his advice. They said "Los von Sāyaṇa"—get free from Sāyaṇa, and this often meant ignoring Sāyaṇa altogether. I knew a certain pupil of Roth, who refused even to look at Sāyaṇa. Hence it is not surprising that antagonistic feelings arose between different groups of scholars. The only one who kept his temper appears to have been Edward Byles Cowell. One of Cowell's pupils once told me jestingly that when some scholar wanted to communicate with one of his literary enemies, it was said that he would do it through the intervention of Cowell. The importance of Roth, however, lies beyond these personal matters. In 1856 he brought out with Whitney an edition of the *Atharvaveda*, and in the great Sanskrit dictionary, produced in collaboration with Böhtlingk, the Vedic portion is chiefly due to Roth.

There is an interesting fact connected with the second edition of Max Müller's edition of the *Ṛgveda*. In 1888 another edition was wanted. The expenses of the first edition had been borne by the East India Com-

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pany, but after the events of 1857 and 58 its function of ruling India had been taken over by the British Government. Max Müller naturally applied to the British Government for assistance—not for any payment to himself, but merely for the expense of printing the work. But, as he tells us, the literary committee of the India Council declined his offer, though a strong desire for it had been expressed both in India and in Europe, and though his gratuitous services were placed at their disposal. As we now look back, there is probably no one here who regrets that decision, for it was left to an Indian to have the honour of bearing the whole expense of the new edition. This was the Maharaja of Vijayanagara, Sir Paśupati Ānanda Gajapati Raz, who, as the editor says, inscribed his name in golden letters on this ancient monument of human thought and faith.

Max Müller had apparently opened a clear path for the study of the Vedas, but his interests were not purely Vedic. He even said, one cannot live by Sanskrit alone. He was interested in the problems of the origin of language, the origin of religion, and the earliest home of the Vedic peoples. Sir William Jones had already pointed out the connexion of Sanskrit with Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Celtic—all going back to a common source. What was this source? Max Müller called it Aryan. Then it was pointed out that the term Aryan is only found applied to the Iranian and Vedic peoples. So the Germans called it Indo-Germanic. The French and English prefer to say Indo-European. Where was the home of the earliest speakers? "Somewhere in Asia," said Max Müller. Then the Germans took up the idea (started by an Englishman) that it was somewhere in Europe. But there was never any agreement as to what part of Europe this was, and now even some of the Germans are inclined to look once more for their primitive home in Asia.

All this discussion was based on linguistic grounds. But there is another source of information—archæology, the study of the actual remains of the earliest inhabitants of Europe. When these are examined we find evidence of very distinct and varied cultures in Europe. There are different ways of burial, distinct types of pottery, weapons, and tools of varied manufacture. They point to the existence of quite different races, and before we can go any further we need to ask which of these races was the Indo European. Yet in all the years of my study I never had a teacher who seriously considered it. I never found anyone bold

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enough to point to a certain culture on the map and say "that is Indo-European."

I have enlarged on this subject because it is one which took up such a large amount of the attention of Vedic scholars in the latter half of the 19th century. Yet what has the subject to do with Vedic studies? I venture to say that if the Vedic hymns as we know them were first sung by the *ṛṣis* of the Aryan tribes settled in the region of the seven rivers or even in the plains of Iran, then the question as to whether the primitive Aryans came from Europe or from the highlands of the Pamirs is not a Vedic question at all. By all means let this question be examined, but let us keep it distinct from Vedic studies.

There is a more immediate question bound up with the problem of the home of the Aryans. What is the date or dates to which the hymns as we know them may be assigned? Some years ago I stated Max Müller's view in these words: "the earliest Brāhmaṇas being pre-Buddhistic are put at 800-600, B.C., and the fact that in them the text of the hymns was beginning to be misunderstood, and that their language shows a later stage, has led to the generally held conclusion that 1,000 B.C. is a minimum date for the close of the *Ṛgveda period.*" A minimum date, as assumed by Max Müller, leaves room for extension, but this date 1,000 B.C. is one that scholars have clung to, though it has not passed unchallenged. You doubtless remember that B. G. Tilak on astronomical grounds put the date some 3,000 years earlier, that is, to 4,000 B.C. This alone would probably not have disturbed the Western scholars, but for the fact that about the same time Hermann Jacobi in Germany independently arrived at much the same conclusion, so that even in Europe it became necessary to discuss the question. At present we are told that the consensus of opinion is against it. But what does "consensus of opinion" mean? It usually means that one or two thinkers have done all the thinking, and that the rest merely take for granted that their favoured authority must be right. Here is still a subject for Indian scholars, who really know Indian astronomy, to take up again, and to set before us the real evidence.

The interests of Max Müller extended beyond the Vedas in other ways, and it was often due to this that scholars were drawn away from really profitable inquiries. He spoke of comparative religion, comparative mythology, and comparative philology. On each of these subjects

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he developed his own theories. He was not content with examining the religion of ancient India, but raised the question of the ultimate origin of religion. How did man come to have any religion at all? What is religious belief, and how did it begin? The Vedic peoples undoubtedly worshipped fire. They worshipped the sun, wherein they saw fire as another form or as another being. The sky itself and the earth were also divine beings—not mere symbols of hidden forces, but the actual beings who manifested their own powers. It seemed a very simple matter to say that religion began as nature-worship. But this does not explain all the religious phenomena that we find in the Vedas. There are gods that show no connexion with any natural phenomenon and gods whose names have not been explained as Aryan at all. The many puzzles that remain were conveniently left without explanation. Macdonell, however, did recognise also the worship of dead ancestors, in which some scholars have sought the origin of religion, but he chiefly aimed at finding what he called a physical basis or some natural phenomenon for each god. We must leave this subject with two remarks. Even if the earliest form of Vedic religion was the worship of natural objects, this gives us no explanation as to why the worshippers considered these objects divine, or why the religious instinct should exist at all. That fundamental question belongs rather to philosophy than to philology. The other point is to notice that human beings had existed for hundreds of thousands of years earlier than the earliest date we can attribute to the Aryans, and if we are going to look for the origin of religion we must get much nearer to the time and place where it began.

It was comparative mythology that occupied Max Müller's chief attention. Mythology according to Macdonell, consists of "the whole body of myths or stories which are told about gods and heroes, and which describes their character and origin, their actions and surroundings." If so, mythology appears to be merely a particular form of folk-tale, the practice of telling stories for amusement or instruction, as is found among all early peoples. This, however, was not the way in which Max Müller understood it. For him the myths were a sacred collection of stories going back to primitive Aryan times, and shared by the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, and Germans. The myths, he supposed, were tales in which the original meaning had been misunderstood, and what had been meant metaphorically was understood literally. It is needless to pursue the argu-

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ment, because none of the comparisons made by this comparative method have held good, and all the attempts to equate the names of Greek and Vedic gods have failed except one. This is Dyaus, the Greek Zeus. In Greek mythology Zeus has a rich store of myths, but Dyaus is a god who in the Veda is less connected with tales about him than any other. So much was admitted even by Max Müller's pupil, Macdonell.

In the matter of comparative philology, or, as the Germans prefer to call it, comparative grammar, Max Müller was almost as unfortunate. He was brought up in the school of George Curtius. Curtius in comparing Greek and Sanskrit words found a good many cases where the rules of phonetic change seemed to be broken. He grouped all such cases as examples of spontaneous change, and left them unexplained. Then about 1880 there arose a group of scholars who found that a good many of these cases were capable of explanation. They declared that phonetic laws have no exception. Of course they have many exceptions, but what they objected to in Curtius was his assumption that these apparent exceptions had to be accepted without explanation. Their objection is now generally admitted to be justified. If there is a sound change there is a cause for it, and until the cause is found the problem is not solved. Max Müller tried to make his peace with them—the young grammarians as they were called—but he added nothing to the science of comparative philology.

Just as in the case of religion he thought it was possible to get back to the very beginnings of religious thought, so in the case of language he thought that by studying the Aryan group we should be able to get back to the first beginning of language, to the time when men first began to communicate by means of sounds, a time, as he expressed it, "when no verb or noun had yet been formed, when man, in fact, was hardly yet man in the full sense of that word, but only the embryo of a man, without speech and without reason." You may think that this leads rather far from the path of Vedic studies, but it is one of the paths into which Western students of the Vedas were beguiled.

Another point of view from which the Vedas have been studied is by comparison with the Avesta, the scriptures of the ancient Iranians as preserved by the Parsees. Here we find similar rites, such as the use of *soma*, which the Iranians called *haoma*, terms like *yajña* or *yasna*, *asura* or *ahura*, *hotar* or *zaotar*, and names of gods like *Mitra* or *Mithra* and

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Yama or *Yima*. Macdonell said that comparison with the allied mythology of the Iranians may confirm the results derived from the Indian material, or when the Indian evidence is inconclusive, may enable us either to decide what is old and new or to attain greater definiteness in regard to Vedic conceptions." This was no doubt a sound conclusion, but at present its application to Avestan studies is not an easy matter, as there have been among Avestan scholars far more serious disagreements and unpleasant disputes than any that have taken place among students of the Veda. More than 30 years ago Karl Geldner, one of the most eminent Avestan scholars, pointed out that in the interpretation of the Avesta no kind of agreement had been reached by conflicting schools, even upon some of the most important points. Since then the disputes have even increased, so much so that a Czech scholar, Dr. Henning, a few years ago gave a paper to the Philological Society entitled the Disintegration of Avestic studies. This means that the disputes had become keener and even less likely of solution. The fresh quarrels chiefly arose from the attempts of two scholars to reach a more exact mode of transliterating the texts. Their theories certainly deserved careful investigation, but they were put forward in a spirit of hostility to certain other scholars. Wherever it seemed possible to disagree with earlier views it was assumed that the earlier view was wrong. I feel sure that something solid will come out of these researches, but it is not likely to come into a clear light until scholars can sit down at the same table in friendliness and see how far agreement is possible.

Another important branch of Vedic study is archæology—the investigation of the actual remains of ancient times. This belongs especially to you in India, who are able to inspect the actual sites and objects, and to note every new discovery which may add to our knowledge. But there is one difficulty to be considered at the outset. Our subject is the Vedas, but if we find an ancient weapon or tool or even a building, how are we to know that they are connected with the Vedic people? That is a question to be borne in mind, and it can only be answered gradually, with the accumulation of evidence.

It may seem strange when we speak of archæology to begin with a place in Turkey, Boghaz-keui, some 90 miles east of Angora, the present capital. Yet it is there where the names of some Vedic gods have been found. The American scholar A. V. Williams Jackson, writing

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in 1920 in the Cambridge History of India, gave an account of the discoveries made by the German Professor Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-keui. These documents, baked clay tablets, inscribed with cuneiform characters, give, says Williams Jackson, in their own special language a record of treaties between the kings of Mitanni and of the Hittites about 1,400 B.C. Among the gods called to witness are deities common in part to India and Persia, whatever the relation may be. The names correspond respectively to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatyā (the latter regularly in the dual in the Veda, and representing the two Aśvins) in the Indian pantheon. They answer likewise in due order to the Persian Mithra and to those elements common between the Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda and the Vedic Varuṇa. Then the Professor raises the crucial question, but does not decide it. He says, "it is not the place here to enter into a discussion of the question as to whether the supernatural beings thus mentioned in the Boghaz-keui tablets are to be interpreted as Proto Iranian, Vedic, Aryan, or even Mitanian alone, because the matter is still open to debate by scholars."

Here, you see, are four possibilities, which have all been mentioned by Vedic scholars. To call them Proto-Iranian would mean that they belonged to a period before the separation in Iran of the Iranian and Vedic peoples. To say Vedic would imply that they have somehow been brought from India. To call them Aryan puts them much further back, that is, to the time before the Aryans had reached Iran, and before the Indo-Iranians as such had originated. To call them Mitanian means that they are neither Aryan nor Iranian at all, but belong to a people, the Mitanni, of whom we know nothing, not even their language. Yet this last suggestion will have to be considered. Scholars have never come to any agreement about the meaning or the possibly Aryan origin of the names Mitra, Varuṇa, and Nāsatyā, and for Indra not even a Sanskrit root has been found. Other writers in the Cambridge History of India were more definite, but as they contradict each other they are not very helpful. Peter Giles put them in the Aryan period, and Berridale Keith seems to put them in the period when the Indians and Iranians were still undivided, the stage which Williams Jackson calls Proto-Iranian. There is thus the possibility that the gods in this treaty between the Hittites and the Mitanni had originally nothing to do with the Vedic gods, even if they were afterwards adopted as such by the Vedic people.

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Another important archæological discovery in India suffers from the same doubt about any Vedic connexion. What are we to say of the Indus civilisation? It is again necessary to go back to Boghaz-keui. At this place Hugo Winckler discovered thousands of clay tablets in different languages but the most important was the language now called Hittite, and F. Hrozny made the surprising discovery that in structure it is an Indo European language, distinct from any of the other groups. There is, however, another kind of script found in this region. It is a kind of picture-writing or hieroglyphic used on seals and engraved on stone. As late as 1929 Hrozny admitted that none of the attempts to decipher it had been successful, as his article in the Encyclopædia Britannica shows. But in 1939 he gave a lecture, in Czech translated into French and published in Belgium the next year, which made a proud claim. It was entitled: *A miracle of Czech science, the mystery of Proto-Indian civilisation unveiled.* This was the claim to have interpreted the hieroglyphic seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. The discovery rested on his interpretation of the Hittite hieroglyphics, which he claimed to have at last interpreted. His words are: "This hieroglyphic Hittite we have succeeded in deciphering in these last years, and in establishing that with these hieroglyphics another Hittite language was written, different from the cuneiform Hittite deciphered by us during the first World War." Hrozny really did achieve the deciphering of cuneiform Hittite, but with regard to his decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphics political events are responsible for the delay in setting forth his proofs. It is this decipherment which he has used for interpreting the Mohenjo daro seals. The Hittite hieroglyphics and the signs on the Mohenjo-daro seals are not identical. There are some signs in common, and he holds that both systems of signs or ideograms go back to some lost primitive source. The seals themselves, he holds, contain the name of the owner, and usually mean, seal of—followed by the person's name. They cannot therefore contain much intelligible information, and though the language may be Indo European it has no connexion with Vedic. Vedic, in fact belongs to the satem group of languages, the group in which an original *k* became a sibilant, as in the word for hundred, in Sanskrit śatam, as contrasted with Latin *centum* and Greek *hekaton*. But Hittite belongs to the group which preserved the *k*-sound, and presumably the language of the Indus people did so also.

Another fact that removes the Indus people from the Vedic group is

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that its entry into India is put before the entry of the Vedic people. These conclusions of Hrozny are still very theoretical, so much so that it is possible to hold a very different view of the nature of the Indus people. This has been done by the Rev. Father Heras of St. Xavier's College. The people, he holds, are Dravidians, and he has written much that requires the most careful consideration.

The name Dravidian raises still another important question. However distinct the Dravidians may be from the Vedic people, it is necessary to inquire whether the two came into contact. It was of course at first assumed by Western scholars that the India which the Vedic people entered was occupied by Dravidians. But the linguistic survey of India shows a much more complicated state of affairs. This has been set out by Rapson in the Cambridge History of India. One of the most important groups of the languages of India is the Austric, now represented in India by Mundari and Santal. The Austric languages, says Rapson, preserve the record of a far distant period when Northern India (possibly Southern India also) belonged to the same linguistic area. The Muṇḍā languages (which belong to the Austric) form the basis of a number of mixed languages, which make a chain along the Himalayan fringe from the Punjab to Bengal. The Austric languages, Rapson continues, have been submerged by successive floods of Dravidian and Indo-European from the west and north-west.

In that case it is necessary to inquire whether the Vedic people ever came into contact with the Dravidians at all, and this has not been done. What evidence is there in the Vedic languages of any contact of Vedic with Dravidian? Professor T. Burrow in the Transactions of the Philological Society for 1945 gives examples of 50 Dravidian words in Sanskrit. But we need to know if these words go back to Vedic times, and it is also necessary to inquire what evidence there may be for the penetration into Sanskrit of Austric forms of speech.

Finally we may ask how much of the work and achievements of the last century of Vedic studies is left as positive results for the scholars of today. In the sense that they have left a firm foundation on which others can build, nothing remains. Science never advances by merely accepting the conclusions arrived at by previous thinkers. Every theory has to be re-tested, and if necessary replaced by another. Ancient Greece developed an atomic theory, and we have an atomic theory now. But it is

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not the same theory. The atomic theory is not even the theory that it was fifty years ago. Every scientist must be ready to criticise any theory that comes before him, and, as Thomas Henry Huxley said, to remember that science commits suicide when it adopts a creed. The splendid work that is now being carried on by Indian scholars opens a new era for the progress of Vedic study in its true home. The centre of gravity of this study is now India, but the way lies open to all seekers after truth.

It would be to me a matter of regret if the words of criticism that I have spoken about Max Müller should obscure the good that he has done. It was he who asked the right kind of question, when he said, "India, what can it teach us?" and I must always be grateful to him for directing my interest in the right spirit to a country of inexhaustible interest with unbounded matter for research. I am even more grateful for the fact that for more than forty years I have found in Cambridge a continuous series of Indian friends, from whom I have learned much, and who have also helped me to realise how little one can know without living in India. Hence I still ask with increased interest, "what can India teach us?"

E. J. Thomas

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The Achaemenids and India

The Achaemenid rule east of the Hindukush came to an end in *c.* 330 B.C., with the defeat of Darius III at the field of Arbela. Little remained in India which could in any sense be called distinctively Achaemenid after the advent of Alexander the Great who did not find even a Persian officer on the Indian soil. Alexander himself, however, behaved in Asia in the oriental fashion. He assumed oriental robes and married the daughter of Darius III. In India, he copied the Achaemenid system of administration of division of empire into satrapies, the most important among which, according to the Classical authors, were three in number: (a) Paropamisadai, to the west of the Indus; (b) the satrapy of Pithon the son of Agenor, "covering Sind from the Indus confluence to the ocean and extending westward to the Hab"; (c) the satrapy of Philipos to the east of the river Indus. These satrapies thus included the three old Achaemenid provinces of 'India', Gandarii and Sattygidia; and after the Persian fashion Alexander left the native rājās, specially Taxiles and Porus, in the enjoyment of their autonomy.* According to Diodorus (XVIII. 3.4) they were recognised as virtually independent rulers.

Thus the Achaemenid empire was dead, but its ghost had been living. This satrapal system of government was again revived by the Scytho-Parthians with the emendation that a Great Satrap was associated with a Satrap, usually his son, who succeeded to the higher dignity in due course. These satraps enjoyed a considerable degree of independence, and two Satrapal Houses, those of Mathurā and of Ujjayinī, became independent and played an important rôle in the political and cultural life of the land. The spirit of the old Achaemenid empire found shelter in India till the Śaka conquest of the Gupta monarch, Candragupta II.

The only town in the Achaemenid sphere which has been properly excavated, Taxila, has yielded some interesting results. An octagonal pillar of white marbel was discovered at Sirkap, containing an Aramaic inscription which has been examined by Herzfeld who read in it the form *Priyadarśaṇa*.[1] Thus the inscription belongs to the Great Maurya emperor Aśoka. As Sir John Marshall observes: "The discovery of this inscrip-

* Vide *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, No. 1, p. 22. 1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 253.

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tion is of special interest in connection with the origin of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet, since it confirms the view that Kharoṣṭhī was derived at Taxila (which was the chief city of the Kharoṣṭhī district) from Aramaic, the latter having been introduced into the North-west of India by the Achaemenids after their conquest of the country about 500 B.C."[2]

The question whether Kharoṣṭhī originated in India or was originally the script of Kashgar was much debated,[3] and after the discovery of the Kharoṣṭhī documents in Central Asia it may be taken as finally settled. None of these documents are earlier than the Christian era, while, on the other hand, the epigraphs of Aśoka in the North Western India are all written in Kharoṣṭhī script.

Bühler thinks that Kharoṣṭhī is the result of the intercourse between the officers of the Satraps and of the native authorities, the Indian chiefs and the heads of towns and villages, whom, as the accounts of the state of the Punjab at the time of Alexander's invasions show, the Persians left in possession in consideration of the payment of tribute. At first the Indians probably used Aramaic characters, just as in later times they used the Arabic writing for a number of their dialects, and they introduced in course of time the modifications observable in the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet. This supposition of Bühler is indeed strengthened by the fact that the vowel system and the compound consonants in Kharoṣṭhī point to the fact that they were elaborated with the help of Brāhmī which was the original script of the Indians and which prevails in most part of the country, while Kharoṣṭhī was used only in the region which once had passed under the foreign rule.

Something may now be said about trade. Kennedy has shown that as early as the seventh century B.C., India had been maintaining commercial relationship with Assyria and Babylonia, and when the Western and the North-western India became the part of an empire which extended in the west upto the Asia-Minor, this Indian trade naturally got a new impetus. The exploration of the Indus and the Arabian Sea by Scylax evidently opened a new water-route, and though it is only now and then that a few details can be obtained, the main fact is unquestionable. The Baveru Jātaka, which may be as old as the Achaemenian [illegible] speaks of the

2 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 78.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1905; *BEFEO.*, [illegible], pp. 246 ff.; 1914; pp. 543 ff.

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adventures of certain Indian merchants, who first took peacock by sea to Babylon. On the evidence of the Susa inscription of Darius, we may infer that Indian ivory and teaks were popular in the Persian markets and Darius used them in the construction of his palace.

Arrian informs us that on his way home by the sea, Nearchos, an admiral of Alexander's navy, got a guide in Gedrosia, who knew the coast as far as the Gulf of Ormuz.[4] The statement brings out the fact that in the Achaemenid age, Indian vessels were coasting along Gedrosia to Arabia and the Persian Gulf. The Indians of the western borderland possibly took a great part in this maritime trade, for the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (*c.* 400 B.C.) condemns the "*samudra-saṃyānaṃ*" as one of the five peculiar customs of the "*northerners*."

Two further points need consideration in this connection. In Sind, Nearchos was detained for twenty four days in a secured harbour, to which he gave the name of Alexander's Haven. This harbour was certainly not a Greek creation, for it was already there at the time of Nearchos' voyage. It is difficult to determine when the harbour was built up, but in any case it seems to be a fact that it had been in use in the Achaemenid days. It is probable that it was built up by the Persians after the exploration of the Indus by Scylax and his party. Secondly, we learn that Nearchos could not proceed further from this place due to unfavourable winds. This is an indication that the Indo-Achaemenids of those days knew the nature of the monsoon winds and navigated the sea accordingly. Nearchos, in fact, waited a month till the 'Etesian winds', the South-West monsoon, ceased, late September or early October, and till he got the North-East monsoon in November. Indians had certainly known of it long before the Greeks, though they might have used it for coasting voyages only.

It was as a result of the Achaemenid conquest that a new industry of blanket-making developed in the Indian borderland. The Kambojas, we have already seen, were an Iranian people, and Yāska says that "*the Kambojas (are so called because) they enjoy blankets (kambala) or beautiful things.*" The blankets or *kambalas* manufactured by the Kamboja people are referred to in the *Mahābhārata* which states that at the great Rājasūya sacrifice, the Kamboja king presented to Yudhiṣṭhira "many of the best kinds of skin, woollen blankets made of the fur of animals living

4 *Indica*, 27. 1.

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in burrows in the earth, and also of cats—all inlaid with threads of gold"; and again we read: "The king of Kamboja sent to him hundred of thousands of black, dark and red skins of the deer called Kadali and also blankets (*kambalas*) of excellent texture."[5] This account of the Kamboja reminds us of the *Ūrṇā-vikraya* as one of the condemnable customs of the "*northerners*" mentioned in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*. But why does Bodhāyana condemn the custom? Evidently because it was a practice in a barbarous country. It has already been noted that the region extending from Kāpiśa to Kamboja was more Iranian than Indian. In the seventh century, the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang also noted the barbarous habits of the people of this region, and states that "From the country of Lan-po (Laghman) till this (Rājapura), the men are of a coarse appearance, their disposition fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and uncultivated, with scarce any manners or refinement. They do not properly belong to India, but are frontier people, with barbarous habit."[6]

Two peculiar customs characterised the people of this region, viz., *the drinking of wine* and *taming of horses*. Bodhāyana condemns both of them—*sidhupānaṃ* and *ubhayatodantirvyāvahāra*—as customs of the "*northerners*."

(*i*) Pāṇini in one of his sūtras refers to the grapes of the Kāpiśa country known as "*Kāpiśāyanī*" and also the wine of the country called "*Kāpiśāyana*." Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* also refers to the wine of the Kāpiśa country. In fact, the habit of drinking wine seems to have been prevalent in other parts of the Achaemenid India as well. If the Great Epic is to be believed, all the people of the Śākala country, modern Sialkot and possibly the earliest home of the Śakas in India, were in the habit of drinking wine. So it seems that the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. were the homes of the branded custom of *sidhupānaṃ* in the ancient period, the regions which fell within the domain of the Achaemenids.

(*ii*) As regards the taming and selling of horses, we may note that the country of Kamboja was specially famous for its horses in ancient India. The *Mahābhārata* is full of references to the horses of the Kamboja country, while the Jaina *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra* states that no horse could compete with a trained horse of Kamboja. The Kamboja horses are again referred to in the Monghyr Copper-plate of Devapāla.

5 *Mbh.*, II, 51. 3; 48. 19.
6 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 164.

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Prof. Bevan points out that the name Assakenoi is connected with the Sanskrit *aśva*, and Iranian *aspa*, horse. The very name then shows that the country of the Assakenoi was famous for its horses. The territory occupied by the tribe was also known as Udyāna or Oddiyana in the Swat Valley. In the Tang Annals the boundaries of Oddiyana or Yue-ti-yien are given as follows: India is on the south; Chitral is on the north-west and it is situated to the north of the river Indus.[7] The Classical authors inform us that at the time of Alexander's invasion the king of this country was Assakenoi while his wife's name was Kleophis.

II

It has already been noted that as a result of the Achaemenid conquest, the Magi or the Magas came and settled in India and they introduced into this country two great changes, viz., the system of cousin marriage and a form of Sun-worship. These two then may be regarded as the indirect consequences of the Achaemenid conquest of India.

The earliest reference to cousin-marriage in India is to be found in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa also informs us that the people of the "South" are overjoyed to get the daughters of their maternal uncle.[8] Bühler points out that "the marriage between cousins occur among the Karhada Brāhmaṇas of the Dekhan." We learn from the epigraphic records that the system of cousin marriage was also in vogue amongst the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkheḍ. Jagatuṅga, the predeceased son of Kṛṣṇa II, had married a daughter of his maternal uncle Saṃkaragaṇa. The same was the case with Indra IV.[9]

The Magas made a great contribution of their own by introducing into the country a new form of Sun-worship. Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* tells us, as we have already seen, that the installation and the consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas who were regarded as the Brāhmaṇas of the Śaka community. *Plate LVI*, in Burgess' *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat* shows that this Sun-god has boots reaching up to the knees; and a girdle round the waist with one end hanging downwards. The dress

7 *Chavannes, Documents* etc., p. 160.

8 Kumārila Bhaṭṭa as quoted by Govindasvāmi on *Bodhāyana*, Mysore ed., p. 8.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 38.

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of the god is entirely Scythian. Many such temples with idols may have been constructed in India under the influence of the Śaka or Maga priests.

The Indian conception of the Sun-god is entirely different and stands in great contrast to that of the Magians. We may compare, for example, the figure of the Magian Sun-god, with his boot and girdle with the rock-cut relief figure of the Sun at Bhaja which is approximately of the second century B.C. "The Sun-god with his consorts in a chariot is escorted by riders on either of the two surfaces, at a right angle of the rock. Animals' and birds' heads disentangle themselves from the heaving mass of the but faintly differentiated relief on the left surface. But even when the shape becomes articulate the modelling retains its heaving quality, and the figure of the demon, with its bulging body, is entirely borne by a plastic imagination."[10]

According to a legend preserved in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa by Jāmbavatī, constructed a temple of the Sun-god on the river Candrabhāgā and appointed Maga Brāhmaṇas for the daily worship of the Sun. The *Skandapurāṇa* refers to a famous temple of the Sun-god at Mūlasthāna which stood on the banks of the river Devīkā, modern Dig, a tributary of the Candrabhāgā. Yuan Chwang also saw the temple and while speaking of Mu-la-san-pulu, gives the following description of it: "There is a temple dedicated to the Sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow-gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the Five Indes never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this Deva). They have founded a house of mercy (happiness), in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint."[11] Alberuni also speaks of this Sun-temple of Multan and tells us that the Brāhmaṇas who worshipped there were known as Magas.

10 Kramrisch, *Indian Sculptures*, p. 160.

11 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 274-275.

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This Magian Sun-cult seems to have made some progress among the inhabitants of Kashmir as well. It appears from the *Rājatarangiṇī* that Sun-worship was at its height at the time of the founding of the Sun-temple at Matan and the devotion of king Kalasa to the Sun, although he professed the established religon of Kashmir. Sun-worship continued in Kashmir long after the people were converted to Islam. Mirza Haidar, the Kashmir historian, states in his work the *Kitab-i-Rashdii* that "there lived in Kashmir a sect of Sun-worshippers who were called Shammassin."[12]

As we have already stated before, there is not the remotest allusion to a temple of the Sun in the accounts of the Indian Saura system. The famous Mārtaṇḍa temple at Matan was, therefore, built evidently under Maga inspirations. The ruins of this temple, says Foucher, "rise proudly like a Greek temple on a promontory."

Thus, it is evident from the examples of Multan, Taxila, Kashmir, Konārak etc., that under the influence of the Maga-Brāhmaṇas many Sun temples were constructed in India, and, we can infer it, on the authority of Varāhamihira, that Maga-Brāhmaṇas were appointed for the purpose of the daily worship of the god. The Magian Sun-cult evidently found centres in the regions where the Maga-Brāhmaṇas made their settlements. In Kṛṣṇadāsa Miśra's *"Maga-Vyakti,"* we find that the Maga-Brāhmaṇas had important settlements in the following places of India,—

1. Urū, 2. Khaṇeṭu, 3. Cheri, 4. Mathapa, 5. Kurāi, 6 Devakulī, 7. Valuṇi, 8. Durāri, 9. Padari, 10. Adāyi, 11. Oṇḍari, 12. Saari, 13. Chatravara, 14. Ayodhyā, 15. Oni, 16. Jambu, 17. Bhadorli, 18. Haradauli, 19. Varuṇārka, 20. Guṇasava, 21. Kuṇḍa, 22. Malaṇḍi, 23. Gaṇḍa, 24. Candaroti, 25. Khaṇḍaśūpa, 26. Khajuraha, 27. Vedipākari, 28. Ullā, 29. Puṇḍra, 30. Mārkaṇḍeya, 31. Lolārka, 32. Koṇārka.

Most of the above places cannot be identified satisfactorily. Ayodhyā, however, seems to be the famous city of the same name in Oudh, while Varuṇāraka is probably the Deo Barnarak from where we have an inscription referring to the Bhojakas or Maga-Brāhmaṇas and a temple of the Sun.[13] Puṇḍra is, no doubt, North Bengal, while Konārka must be

12 Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 353 n.

13 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, p. 215.

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identical with Konarak, (for the *Maga-Vyakti* informs us that this place bordered on the sea) where we have one of the finest Sun-temples in India.

An important point to be noted in this connection is that in designating the Brāhmaṇas of the above places, the *Maga-Vyakti* simply adds—*āra* to the name of the country; thus the Brāhmaṇas of the Urū are called Urū-vāraḥ; of Khaṇeṭu, Khaṇṭavāraḥ etc. It is not known exactly why the Maga Brāhmaṇas were thus designated by the suffix *āra* added after the name of their settlements. Possibly, such was the custom among the Maga Brāhmaṇas themselves. If this hypothesis be accepted then we have to assume that the suffix *āra* was one of the peculiar features of the language of the Magas, who came to India from the Central Asia in the train of the Śakas.

We do not know exactly what was the language of the Śakas of India. Lévi points out that *Śakāra* of the Sanskrit drama is in reality a picture of the Śaka,[14] while Charpentier thinks that the linguistic description of *Śakāra's* dialect which is "by the Hindu Grammarians looked upon as a sub-species of Māgadhi," might just as well be regarded as an Iranian language. He opines further that the word *Śakāra* may be of Iranian origin and derived from "Śaka" by the suffix *āra*.[15]

Now, Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* gives the rule *"ārak Udicām,"* (IV. 1. 130) and while explaining it the *Kāśikāvṛtti* says *"Godhāyā apatye Udicāṃ ācāryānāṃ matena ārak pratyayo bhavati: Gaudhāra."* Thus according to the strict rules of the Sanskrit Grammar *Śaka* + *āra* would give us the form *Śākāra* and not *Śakāra*. Patañjali, however, informs us that "the correct use of grammar is in vogue only among the *Śiṣṭas*, i.e., the inhabitants of the Āryāvarta, and other people use words indifferently without due respect for the grammatical rules." It is thus quite possible that the Śakas used the suffix *āra* in the sense of *"this is his descendant"* without making any *vṛddhi* of the first letter, and from them the term *Śakāra* passed into the Sanskrit literature. In this connection, it may be noted that besides the rule *"ārak udīcāṃ"* of Pāṇini, we have the statement of Bharata—

"Vālhīka bhāṣā udicyānāṃ." (*Nātyaśāstra*, XVII, 52).

14 Levi, *Le Theatre indien*, p. 361.
15 *JRAS.*, 1925. pp. 238 ff.

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The above two thus taken together would show that the suffix *āra* was employed in the language of the Vālhīkas, and the interpretation of the Kāśikā may not be applicable in that system.

If this view be accepted, then we can hold that the Śakas used originally Vālhīka-bhāṣā i.e., a branch of the Iranian tongue, and if the *āra* of the Maga-Brāhmaṇas be a reminiscence of their old custom, it would prove beyond doubt that the Magas of the *Maga-vyakti* were really the old Śāka-dvīpīya priests who came to India in the pre-Christian days.

According to some scholars the practice of exposing the dead to the birds of prey, common in Taxila,[16] was introduced into India by the Magians after the Achaemenid conquest of the country. The *Mahāsīlava Jātaka* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* bear clear reference to it. The Chinese account, on the other hand, avers the presence of this practice among the Licchavis, and this has given rise to various theories regarding the origin of the tribe. Thus Dr. Vidyābhuṣaṇa observes: "It appears to me very probable that while about 515 B.C., Darius, King of Persia, sent an expedition to India, or rather caused the Indus to be explored from the land of the Pakhtu (Afghans) to its mouth, some of his Persian subjects in Nisibis (off Herat) immigrated to India, and having found the Punjab over-populated by the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, came down as far as Magadha (Bihar) which was at that time largely inhabited by Vrātyas or outcaste people."[17] This theory has been severely criticised by the later scholars, and indeed there is absolutely no evidence that the Persians in the Achaemenid days advanced as far as the Eastern India. The presence of the custom of exposing the dead to the birds of prey, however, requires explanation.

The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* refers to the customs of burial and exposure of the dead on a raised platform. The *Atharvaveda* also refers to similar practices: "They that are buried, and they that are scattered away, they that are burned and they that are set up—all those Fathers, O Agni, bring thou to eat the oblation."[18]

Thus it would appear that the system of exposing the dead was prevalent among a section of the Aryans from a very remote period. In his

16 Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 135 n.
17 *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 79.
18 *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, I. 87; *Atharva Veda*, XVIII. 2. 34.

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Vedic Antiquities Prof. Dubreuil claims to have discovered several funeral remains of the Vedic age; but, in any case, the system of *Dakhama* in India cannot be ascribed to the Persian sources. The system seems to have been in existence among the Aryans in their early home in Central Asia.

III

The two peoples, the Indians and the Persians, were thus living side by side in close contact and naturally there must have been mutual borrowing. We know what little Indians took because we have the Indian literature and epigraphic records, but it is difficult to determine what the Persians took because our 'sources' are lost. Alberuni's statement that Buddhism flourished in Western Asia before the spread of Zoroastrianism which supplanted the former[19] remains uncorroborated, and the account can hardly be accepted in the present state of our knowledge.

Spooner in his "Zoroastrian Period of Indian History" has traced Persian influences in different spheres of Indian life; but that most of his conclusions are far-fetched will be apparent from the criticisms that followed the publication of his article. Further, in this thesis of ours, we have to distinguish between the factors that are "Persian" from those that are "Achaemenid," for the fusion of Persian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great, and this hybrid culture thus evolved was introduced into India either as a result of the peaceful intercourse between the Mauryan empire and Western Asia, or as a result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushāṇas, all of whom must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with Graeco-Persian culture. Hence, it will be wrong to assume that all the Persian elements in the Indian culture found their way into India at the time when the Persian Empire extended over the North-west, the Greek elements following later.[20]

Senart has traced Achaemenid influence in the preambles to the Aśokan edicts. The epigraphs of Aśoka begin with the uniform phrase: *"Thus saith King Piyadasi, dear unto the devas."* Now, this

19 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I, p. 21.
20 Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 24.

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formulae is an absolutely isolated example in Indian epigraphy, and makes its appearance with the Aśokan edicts, and after them appears no more, "inspite of the influence which the example of so powerful a sovereign would be expected to exercise." In the entire series of the inscriptions of the Achaemenid monarchs from Darius to Artaxerexes we find, on the other hand, the phrase *thatiy Dāraya vaush Kṣayathiya,* 'thus said the King Darius,' or its equivalent, *thatiy Kṣayarasha* inevitably forming the frame of each of the proclamations. In both the cases, this phrase in the third person is immediately succeeded by the use of first person, and thus we are led to infer that the Great Maurya emperor copied his Achaemenid brethren in making his proclamations.[21].

The inference is supported by other facts as well. The word *dipi* is used in the Kharoṣṭhī proclamation of the Maurya king to designate the inscriptions, while the engraving is called *nī-pish*. This is exactly a copy of Darius' inscriptions where we read *"imam dipim nipishtanaiy,"* while Aśoka writes *"ayi dharmadipi nipiṣta."* In the Brāhmī records instead of *'dipi'* we have got *'lipi'* which is but a modification of the Iranian term *'dipi.'*

The question of Irano-Achaemenid influence on Indian art is a vexed one. The Iranian art after Artaxerexes II shows "an astoundingly quick decline, an unparalleled fall, to the point that even the mere technique was almost entirely lost. Old Persian art was dead before Alexander conquered Persia, and with the art the whole culture died: This complete decay was the cause, the conquest was its consequence. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the Ancient East had died."[22]

Thus the presence of the Persian elements in the Indian art should properly be ascribed to the Greco-Persian source than to the Achaemenids themselves. We may leave out at the outset the question of Achaemenid influence on Indian sculpture for "architecture was the dominating art at the Achaemenian epoch; sculpture was subordinate to it, and was as a matter of fact part of the architecture."[23] Indeed, in the Achaemenid epoch every single one of the principles of the Iranian sculpture was

21 *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 255-6.
22 Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 274.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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deliberately chosen to subordinate sculpture to architecture to create the perfect unity of the colossal buildings; the sculpture had no independent existence.

It was believed that the lion-figures of the Mauryan age drew their inspiration from the lion of Hāmādān which was taken to be a work of the Achaemenid period. The theory must now be discarded for it has been conclusively proved that the lion of Hāmādān belongs to the Arsacidan and Sassanid periods.

Taxila, the great city of the Achaemenid, may have imbibed some Achaemenid influence as shown by an Aramaic inscription discovered there by Sir John Marshall. A few minor antiquities found in the Bhir mound show traces of the influence of the Achaemenid art, which possibly reached India after the conquest of Alexander the Great.

How far the Achaemenid model travelled into the interior of India beyond the borders of the Indo-Achaemenid empire cannot be properly determined. Iranian influence has been traced in—(a) the Mauryan sculptures, (b) the Mauryan palace discovered at Kumrāhār, and (c) the Aśokan pillars.

(a) It has already been said that in the art of the Achaemenid age the sculpture had no independent existence, and hence it follows *a priori* that the few objects of sculptures that can be assigned to the Maurya age had hardly anything Iranian in them. It is possible, however, that the art of giving lustrous polish to the stone was learnt by the Indians from the Greco-Persians who also possibly taught the natives the art of moulding stones. Burgess thinks, however, that these objects are typically Aśokan.

(b) The excavations at Kumrāhār by Waddell and Spooner led to the discovery of the Mauryan palace, the Sugāṅga palace mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela, which, it is supposed, was built on the model of the throne room and palace of Darius at Persepolis. Dr. Spooner's view regarding the design and purpose of the Hall at Pāṭaliputra find some confirmation in a clay seal recovered at the site which depicts such a three-storied hall as he predicts.

To understand the full significance of Spooner's theory, we must note in brief the account of the "Persepolitan capital" as given by the archaeologists. As Herzfeld says. "The building of Persepolis started soon after Darius' accession in *c.* 520. As long as he reigned, the place

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was no more than a great builder's yard, and under Xerexes the constructions were still going on all over the place. It was never entirely completed, but after Artaxerexes I had finished the Hall of a Hundred Columns it was more or less ready for use. However, traces of actual occupation are comparatively scanty, and Ktesias, who lived twenty years as physician at the court of Artaxerexes II, evidently was never there. It remained entirely unknown to the Greeks before Alexander conquered it. On the whole Persepolis seems to have been a place that was founded and kept for historical and sentimental reasons in the homeland of the dynasty but used for only special ceremonial occasions."

From the above observations, it is evident that the Indians probably knew nothing of the great palace during the rule of the Achaemenids. Its story may have circulated in India after the conquest of Alexander, but there is no direct proof that the Mauryan court intentionally copied the pattern of the Iranian model. There are again fundamental differences between the two palaces, as shown by several critics of Spooner's theories.

Further the expression "Hall of the Hundred Columns" is a misnomer, for there were about 500 columns on the terrace alone. The comparison between the two seems to have been first started by the Iranians themselves, but Aelian makes the pointed remark: "methinks, only the well-known vanity of the Persians could prompt such a comparison."

(c) The question of Iranian influence on the Mauryan Columns has been much discussed and those who hold that they are entirely of Indian origin point out that: (i) the Persian columns are made up of various materials—lime-stone of good quality, artificial stone, burnt brick, crude brick, a hard kind of plaster white and hard as stone, while the Aśokan columns are invariably made of monolithic grey sand stone; (ii) unlike the Persian columns, the Mauryan columns have no base; (iii) unlike any thing such found in the Persian columns, the lower elements of all abaci in India are lotus, represented with extraordnary realism; (iv) the Aśokan entamblature is almost always, zoophorous, and the Sarnath lions, placed in close juxtaposition, are contrary to the Persian designs.

Thus it is difficult to decide how far the Indian art is indebted for its motifs and inspirations to the Achaemenid Iran. The edict bearing pillar at Sañci has also been dubbed as Perso-Greek in style, not Indian, and there are reasons to believe that many of the Mauryan monuments were the handiwork of foreign, probably Bactrian, artists who were too much

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influenced by the Persian models. Thus though these monuments are essentially Indian, still we can trace in them some foreign elements. As Sir John Marshall has said, "In the time of Aśoka indigenous art was still in the rudimentary state, when the sculptor could not grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, when the law of 'frontality' was still binding upon him, and when the 'memory picture' had not yet given place to direct observation of nature." The influence of the dead Persian art came, if it came at all, to India—rejuvinated through the Greeks.[24]

It has been suggested that the great Mauryan royal road with mile stones on it was constructed after the Achaemenid model. This is quite possible for the Persian kings, we know, covered their empire by a network of roads that opened a new chapter in the history of trade and commerce of Western and Central Asia. As Przyluski says: "From Maurya times onwards Pāṭaliputra was connected with Gandhāra by an imperial highway, drawn on the model of the great roads of the Achaemenids. It played a great part in the political and economic life of India. After the foundation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana commercial intercourse became very active between the valleys of the Ganges and the Oxus.....From Pāṭaliputra three great roads radiated to the frontiers of the Empire—the south-western to Barygaza by Kauśāmbī and Ujjayinī, the northern to Nepal by Vaiśālī and Śrāvastī, and the north-western, the longest, to Bactriana by Mathurā and Upper-valley of the Indus."[25]

It was evidently after this great road, *patha,* of Northern India that the region came to be known as the Uttarāpatha. The term Uttarāpatha has, however, been often used in a much restricted sense to signify the region lying on the other side of Pṛthudaka or Pehoa,[26] and inhabited by the Gandhāras, the Yoṇas, the Kambojas and other barbarous tribes. Now, this region formed a part of the Achaemenid empire, and this area acquired the name of Uttarāpatha at an early age, evidently from the fact that some of the Achaemenid or pre-Achaemenid roads ran through it.

The Achaemenids were not in India for Iranising the Indians, and the

24 For the question of Achaemenid influence on the Mauryan Art, see also Ray, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art,* Calcutta University, 1945.

25 Przyluski, *La Legende de l'empereur Aśoka,* p. 9; Jolly, *Arthaśāstra,* p. 44.

26 Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā,* ch. XVII, p. 93.

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life in that part of India which went under their heels was for all practical purposes Indian. Thus it is not strange that the earliest extant Sanskrit grammar of India was composed in this area. The date of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has been much debated, but there is now a consensus of opinion that it belongs to the fifth century[27] B.C. Pāṇini was a native of Śālatura, and hence an Achaemenid subject. Paṇini's work shows that Sanskrit was highly cultured in Achaemenid India, while a verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvalī* states that Pāṇini wrote *"first the grammar and then the Kāvya, the Jāmbavatī-vijaya."* Rāyamukuṭa in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* has preserved a fragment from Pāṇini's *"Jāmbavatī-Vijaya,"* while Nami-Sādhu cites "from Pāṇini's mahākāvya, the *Pātālavijaya,*" a fragment illustrating that the great poets permit the license of ungrammatical forms. The tradition of Pāṇini as a poet is also vouchsafed by the *Sadūkti Karṇāmṛta,* while seventeen verses are also found cited in the *Anthologies* under the name of a poet Pāṇini. Aufrecht who first drew attention to the existence of a poet named Pāṇini remarked that we know of only one author of that name, and indeed it is not a wonder that our great grammarian may have been a poet as well.[28] In any case, Pāṇini illustrates very well how Sanskrit was cultured in a part of India which had passed under the foreign rule.

Conclusion

Our task of giving a comprehensive picture of the Achaemenids in India has now come to an end (See *IHQ.*, vols. XXV, Nos. 3 & 4, vol. XXVI, Nos. 1 & 2), only a few words are necessary by way of epilogue.

The Achaemenids of Iran extended their sway into India and this brought a revolutionary change in the history of the land. It unlocked to the people of greater Asia and Europe a new world, and inspired a hero of Macedon with an endeavour to conquer it. Indeed, there would hardly have been Alexander's invasion of the country, had not the Achaemenids conquered it beforehand, for Alexander did not traverse Asia beyond the limits of that empire. Alexander was a true successor of the Achaemenids

27 Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect,* p. 16.

28 *ZDMG.*, XIV. pp. 581 ff.; XXVII, pp. 46 ff.; XLV, pp. 38 ff.; *JRAS.*, 1891, pp. 311-19; *Ind. Ant.*, 1886, p. 241; Das Gupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* vol. I, pp. 7-9.

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and he held in his own hand the torch of Iranian culture to light the darkness that had already been shrouding inspite of the best efforts of the Persian monarchs. Politically, the Achaemenids were less successful in India than the Greeks, the Śakas or the Kushāṇas, but they had to their credit the unique achievement of acquainting India to the outer-world from where nomads henceforth began pouring into that fertile golden land. Indeed, the history of foreign rule in India from the time of Alexander to that of the Ephthalites is nothing but an appendix of the old Indo-Achaemenid history.

Thus India came into contact with various traditions more than had formerly been the case, and the result was naturally a widening of the scope of intellectual activity and the breaking of the fetters of traditionalism. The contributions of the Achaemenids peep to a large extent into the golden age of the Mauryas. If human progress is indebted to those who are instrumental in propagating the culture developed by other nations and in transposing ideas and institutions from people to people, India must admit her debt to Achaemenid Iran.

APPENDIX

(i) *The Gold-Question*

Herzfeld in his *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 272, has given two very important plates of Xerexes tribute procession, (pls. LXXIX and LXXX), one showing "the Thattagush (Sattagydians) with weapons and a marvellous humped-bull," and the other depicting "the Hindus from Sind with gold, double axes and a beautiful ass."

An examination of pl. LXXX reveals that the Hindus are carrying some rectangular slabs in their hands, and they may or may not be slabs of gold. We have already tried to show that the account of Herodotus gold-tribute paid by the "Indians" is much exaggerated, and there is hardly any reason for supposing that gold was abundant in India. The slabs in question may represent ivory blocks which, we know, Darius imported from "India" for the construction of his palace at Susa.

Macdonald's theory (p. 23) that "gold was abundant there (India), so abundant that for many centuries its value relatively to silver was extraordinarily low" is not supported by the facts at our disposal. The evidence of the Classical authors, already shown, is conclusive on the point.

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As Tarn says: "The only native Indian gold of any account came from the washings on the upper Ganges and its tributaries which are referred to by Megasthenes and Pliny and probably (later) by the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*. In fact Indians knew next to nothing about gold-mining; Alexander's mining engineer Gorgos, who opened a silver mine in the Salt-Range in Sopeithes' kingdom whence came Sopeithes' unique silver coinage, said that Indian ideas of mining and refining were elementary, and Megasthenes said that they did not even know how to separate gold from dross. Essentially, India's gold was imported and so had to be paid for like other commodities; the North-west got its gold from Siberia, the East probably imported some gold from the very rich river-washings in Yunnan and the neighbouring provinces." (*l.c.*, p. 108).

(ii) *The Kambojas*

It has been asserted by several scholars that (a) the Kambojas were an Indian people, and that (b) their territory figures as one of the Indian *janapadas* in the age prior to the time of the Lord Buddha. Let us see how far the assertions are correct.

(a) The Kambojas are not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, a fact which shows that they came late in India. The *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa* of the Sāma Veda mentions a teacher named Kamboja Aupamanyava. This fixes up the date of the work which must be ascribed to the post-Cambyses age. A higher antiquity has generally been given to the work, and thus it has been sought to prove that the Kambojas came to India at a very early date. The account of the people as given in the *Nirukta* proves conclusively that they were Iranians. The fact that Kātyāyana had to make a *vārtika* on Pāṇini's rule *"Kambojā-luk"* shows that like the Colas, Keralas etc., the Kambojas were not well-known to the Father of the Sanskrit grammar, although he had been living in the trans-Indus region. And the only reason of this ignorance was that they had only recently settled in India, too recently to be acquainted with the Indo-Aryans themselves.

(b) In the list of the *Soḷasa mahājanapada* furnished by the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* we find the mention of the Kamboja. Rhys Davids opined that it represents a picture of the age just before the rise of Buddhism. Now, the date of Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* is uncertain. According to the Ceylonese tradition the event took place in 544 B.C., while according to a

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Cantonese tradition in 486 B.C.* In any case, it is certain that the trans-Indus regions were conquered by Cyrus who ruled from B.C. 558 to 530 B.C. So if Rhys Davids is to be followed the date of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* list must be pushed to a period prior to 544 B.C. or 486 B.C. If the name Kamboja be associated with Cambyses, as Lévi has shown, then the date of the list must be later than 530 B.C., when already the North-western region of India had become a part of the Achaemenid empire. It must be remembered, however, that the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* is giving us a list of the countries, not a list of the governments. So Gandhāra and Kamboja mentioned in it may very well be the two units of the Persian empire.

S. Chattopadhyaya

* It is to be noted that the Cantonese tradition of 486 B.C. satisfies most of the Buddhist datings of the later days.

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Hūṇs, Yavanas and Kāmbojas

The Hūṇas of Sanskrit texts plausibly stand for the famous Hūṇs of Central Asia, a fierce nomadic tribe who were known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. The pillages and devastations committed by them caused wide-spread havoc in the early centuries of the Christian era. The very frequent references to the Hūṇs in the Epic and the Purāṇas indicate that they were quite familiar to Indian writers. The *Lalita-vistara* mentions also a Hūṇa-lipi.[1]

Towards the middle of the 5th century A.D. the Hūṇs, as M. Chavannes writes acquired great power in the basin of the Oxus[2]. A Hūṇ settlement on the Oxus was also known to Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Candragupta II (380-412 A.D.) Vikramāditya, for he places the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu, the Oxus in Bactria[3]. Their first incursion into India was repulsed by Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.) as recorded in the emperor's Bhitarī inscription[4]. By the time of Varāhamihara (d. 587 A.D.) the Hūṇ settlement in India was fairly well recognised. They appear in the list of northern tribes furnished by the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, and the grouping and the context suggests that they were living near the Kulu Valley. The valley of the Upper-Sutlej adjacent to Tibet which was called Hundes, might have been the home of this tribe or a branch of them[5]. But in the early part of the sixth century A.D. the Hūṇs were also living in the trans-Indus region, as in the Christian topography of Cosmas Indikopleustes (c. 525 and 535 A.D.) it is expressly stated as follows: "The river Phīson (Indus) divides India from the country of the Huṇs".[6] Indian writers of the seventh century, however, associate

1 *IA.*, 1913, p. 266.

2 *Document sur less Toukiue occidentaux*, pp. 222-23. Also see Dr. Modi's *Early History of the Hūṇas in JBBRAS.*, XXIV, 562-67.

3 Mallināṭha's (14th or 15th century) reading Sindhu is not correct in view of Vallabhadeva's (10th century) and Kṣīrasvāmin's (11th century) comments. See *JDL.*, IV, 107 ff. also K.B. Pathak, *IA.*, 1912, p.265 ff.

4 *CII.*, III. 56, line 15. For a detailed account of this Hūṇ invasion in India, see *NHIP.*, VI. 193 ff.

5 *NHH.*, ch. II, p. 19.

6 *MA.*, p. 165.

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the Hūṇs with the Punjab region. In the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*, a work not earlier than the 6th or 7th century A.D. the Hūṇ country is mentioned in conjunction with Kāśmīra. Bāṇa, the author of *Harṣacarita*, also refers to a Hūṇ principality of Uttarāpatha[7].

In the first half of the sixth century A.D. the Hūṇs enjoyed political power for a short period. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that the Eran inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta (G. E. 191 = 510 A.D.) contains an allusion to the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇs in Central India[8]. This is supported by the evidence furnished by the Eran inscription of Toramāṇa (c. 500-515 A.D.)[9] which show that the Sāgar (Saugor) districts and presumably other northern region of the Central Provinces were under the rule of the Hūṇ Chie Toramāṇa. Toramāṇa had greatly raised the status of the Hūṇs. He struck 'solar type' coins in Brāhmī script which come mostly from Rajputana,[10] and he may have extended his rule even over a portion of the Punjab[11]. Toramāṇa was succeeded by his son Mihirakula (c. 515-535 A.D.)[12] who further enlarged the Indian dominions of his father. Mihirakula had his capital at Sialkot in the Punjab[13] and ruled over an extensive empire which stretched from the Himalayas.[14] But he was defeated by Yaśodharman, king of Malwa[15], and finally crushed, as seems very likely by the Gupta king Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya[16].

Even after their defeat at the hands of Yaśodharman the Hūṇs maintained their hold over small principalities in the different parts

7 Ch. v. 8 *SI.*, p. 336, fn. 9. 9 *Ibid.*, 396-7.

10 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, by V. Smith, pp. 232-33, 235-36.

11 This assumption is based upon the hypothesis that Toramāṇa Shāhi of the Kurā (Salt range, Punjab), inscription is the same as the Hūṇ Emperor Toramāṇa (*SI.*, p. 398, fn. 1 and 4).

12 Dr. R. C. Majumdar writes that there is hardly anything to show that Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Hūṇs, on the contrary, the *Mandasor Inscription of Yaśodharman*, he says, even implies a distinction between Mihirakula and the Hūṇs. Dr. Majumdar agrees with Stein and Jayaswal in regarding Toramāṇa as a Kusāṇa chief who being allied with the Hūṇs led the Hūṇ hordes (*NHIP*, VI. 195-98).

13 Smith, *Cat. Coins*, I, p. 232; *SI.*, p. 395, fn. 1.

14 Cf. *Mandasor Stone-pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman* (c. 525-535 A.D.), vs. 6 (*SI.*, 394).

15 *Ibid.*, vs. 6-7. 16 *NHIP.*, VI. 199-201.

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of India where they ruled as local chiefs. Princes of Hūṇ tribe and Hūṇ royal houses are mentioned in the records of the Pratihāras, Paramāras, Cāhamanas, Cālukyas (Guzerat) and Pālas. Epigraphic sources indicate that at a later time the Hūṇ chiefs became the paramount lords of the whole country extending from near the Kota border to the precints of Bundi".[17] Some Paramāra records from Ujjaini[18] refer to Āvaraka-Bhoga (the country round the town of Agar north-east of Ujjain) and Hūṇamaṇḍala which proves the existence of a Hūṇ country in the mediaeval period in the very heart of Malwa. Hūṇ territories of this region later on passed under the possession of the Rajputs, and the Hūṇs similarly came to be known as one of the 36 Rajput clans.

The Hūṇs were later on absorbed into Hindu society and improved their social position. The Hūṇ Mihirakula was a devotee of Śiva[19]. Other records show that Hūṇ kings ranked with Indian Sovereigns and Hūṇ princesses married into the famous royal families. A Jaina work of the 12th century A.D. refers to a rājā of Hūṇadeśa who attended a *Svayaṃvara Sabhā* and sought the hand of a princess.[20] The Jubbalpur plates of Jayasiṁhadeva (1167 A.D.) records that the Kalacuri king Karṇa married a Hūṇ lady Āvallā devī by name.[21] The commentator of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 67-68) even calls them Kṣatriyas. Pargiter says "They appear to have been of light complexion, for their women are pictured as having made their cheeks pale red by beating them in grief".[22]

Mention of the mixed hordes of the Śakas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas occur very frequently in the *Mahābhārata*.[23] In Aśoka's

17 *El.*, XXVI. 85. N. L. De says that on account of Hūṇic settlements some place-names of India are found to be counterparts of Asiatic cities (Puṣkara-Bukhara). *IHQ.*, II, 730.

18 *El.*, XXIII. 102; *DUHB.*, p. 118, fn. 2.

19 Cf. *Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula* (vs. 3-4, *Sl.*, 400-1, fn. 3 and p. 395, fn. 1.

20 *IA.*, IV. 113. 21 *El.*, XXI. 93 22 *MP.*, p. 380.

23 *Mbh* (B)., i, 168. 37; iii. 43. 22; v. 19. 22; vi. 20. 13. The Yavanas were not presumably unknown to India even before Alexander's time. Pāṇini (5th century B.C.) refers to the writing of the Yavanas (*NHH.*, ch. II. p. 44). Arrian's account of Nysa (which according to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was situated between the Kophen and the Indus) points to the existence of a Greek colony on the frontiers of India before the invasion of Alexander. It is also assumed on the basis of numismatic evidence that a Greek colony existed in some outlying

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edict[24] the Yavanas are mentioned as Yoṇas in conjunction with the Gāndhāras and Kāmbojas as tribes living outside his territories whom he calls his 'borders'. There can be little doubt that by this name the Greeks were intended, who might have formed a small state on the north-west frontier[25] in a territory adjoining Gāndhāra but outside India[26]. Rapson was of opinion that these border tribes were not the subjects of Asoka, but Dr. Ray Chaudhury points out that they were included within the Rāja-viṣaya or the king's territory and that the real border peoples were the 'Greeks of the realm of Antiochos'.[27] Both in R.E. XIII and II Aśoka refers to the Yona king Antiyoka[28] who was a Greek prince. Aśoka's governor Tuṣāspha was a Yavana-rāja, a Greek prince, which indicates that potentates of these border tribes existed in his empire as feudatory chieftains. Very soon after the death of Aśoka the Yavanas emerged into importance in the political history of North-western India. The decline of the Maurya power was followed by a Yavana raid in Madhya-deśa. A passage referring to this in the Yuga Purāṇa section of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā* which runs thus: —"Then the viciously valiant Yavanas after reducing Sāketa, Pañcāla, Mathurā, will reach Kusumadhvaja.....".[29] Demetrios the 'Indo-Greek contemporary of Puṣyamitra' (*c.*187 to 151 B.C.) is perhaps mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription (*c.* 1st century B. C.) of Khāravela as Yavana rāj(a) D(i)mi(ta)[30]. The Yavana invasion of India referred to in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* who lived towards the middle of the second century B.C.; and also in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was obviously a Greek invasion in the time of Puṣyamitra, of either Demetrios or Menander.[31] Menander is identified with the king Milinda of Sagal (Śākala) mentioned in the *Milinda-pañha*, as a Yavana-rāja. But the Yavanas as a political power

province of India about 550 B.C. (*CI.*, 1921, pp. 29-32). See also Holdich, *The Gates of India*, pp. 19-22, 123-24, 128. Another writer is of opinion that the Yavanas were the Ionians of Sogdiana (*IC.*, II. 357-8).

24 *CII.*, I. 10. 25 *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii. 26 *CL.*, 1921, pp. 26 ff.

27 *PH.*, p. 260. 28 *CII.*, I, 48.

29 Kern, *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Intro., p. 37. *et. seq.*

30 *EI.*, XX. 79-80, line 8,

31 *PH.*, p. 319. But the view is expressed that it is Demetrios who is to be identified with the Yavana invaders and not Menander who could not have been the contemporary of Puṣya-mitra (*PH.*, pp. 323-24).

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ceased to exist by the beginning of the second century A.D. We learn from the Nasik record of Queen Gautamī Balaśrī that her son Siri-Sātakani Gotamīputa destroyed the Yavanas, and also the Sakas and Pahlavas[32]. From some ancient texts we get a glimpse of the horror of Yavana raids. The passage of the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā* quoted above says that "all provinces will be in disorder assuredly." In the Purāṇas it is stated that the Yavana king will follow evil customs and that massacring of women and children and killing of one another will be the normal feature of their life.[33] From the *Śukranīti* we learn that the Yavanas had all the four castes mixed together, did not recognise the authority of the Vedas and lived in the north and west[34]. The *Harivaṁśa* notes that the Yavanas shaved the whole of their heads[35]. The *Mahābhārata* records that they were very expert in shooting arrows: *Śaravānāsanadharā Yavanāśca prahāriṇaḥ*[36].

But the word Yavana does not merely refer to the Greeks and according to Otto Stein Yavana of early Indian inscriptions does not indicate Greek nationality.[37] D. R. Bhandarkar says that in early times Yavana always denoted the Greeks, but from the 2nd century A.D. onward it may have meant the Persians[38]. Another writer thinks that the word Yavana denoted the Arab traders, the Romans and Jews[39]. In later records Yavana stood for the Muhammadans. For instance, Viśvarūpasena is described as *'Garga Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra-nṛpaḥ*, in his Madanapara Grant[40]. The Yavana enemy who was defeated by Anaṅgabhima III (c.1211 to 1238 A.D. of the Gaṅga dynasty of Orissa[41] was a Muhammadan

32 *EI.*, VIII. 61.

33 Pargiter, *Dynastics of the Kali Age*, pp. 56 & 74.

34 Chapter IV, sec. iv, lines 74-5.

35 *HV.*, i. 14. 16.

36 VII. 117. 13. But the Yavanas later on exerted considerable influence on the works of Hindu astronomy. The Indian astronomers write of the Yavanas as their teachers. See Kern's translation of *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, *op. cit.*

37 *IC.*, I. 343 ff.

38 *Ibid.*, 18; Bhandarkar, *ABRI.*, VIII 134 ff. Another writer distinguishes the Yavanas from Pārasikas (Dr. D. C. Sircar in *the Journal of Indian History* (vol. XIV, pt. i, April 1935).

39 *IC.*, II, 575-76. See *PH.*, 386, fn. 1 for early Roman connection with India.

40 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 132-139, v. 17.

41 *EI.*, XIII. 151, vs. 3.

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invader. Other epigraphic references bear out that the Muhammadans were called Yavanas in the mediaeval period.

It has been seen that in Aśoka's edict the Yonas are grouped with the Kāmbojas. The *Rāmāyaṇa* combines them in a single appellation: *Kāmbojayavanāṁścaiva*[42]. In other passages of the *Mahābhārata* the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas having ordinarily as their companions, the Śakas are most often coupled together[43]. These allusions indicate that the Kāmbojas were mainly a northern or north-western race. The *Mahābhārata* also places them in Uttarāpatha along with Yavana and Gandhāra[44].

But unlike the Yavanas the Kāmbojas were an ancient people known to the Vedic texts. In early times the Kāmboja country was a seat of Brāhmaṇical culture[45]. Buddhism incorporated Kāmboja in the classical list of sixteen kingdoms, like Gandhāra, and the people are copiously referred to in other Pāli texts.[46] Kāmboja is also mentioned in Pāṇini's Sūtra, IV. 1.175. From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that they had a monarchical form of Government[47] and occupied a prominent position among the fighting powers of the Kurukṣetra War. The country of the Kāmbojas was known to the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Kāmbojaviṣaya[48]. In the time of Kauṭilya the Kāmbojas who had been organised into a corporation of warriors (Kṣatriyaśreṇī) lived by agriculture and trade[49] and were apparently living under a *Saṁgha* form of government. But is difficult to reconcile the different conflicting accounts regarding them. The people whose activities were conducted much in the same way like other Aryan tribes, as is clear from the notices made above, were again noticed with derision and contempt and treated as though they were degraded members of the Aryan stock if not altogether alien in race. The legend told in the *Rāmāyaṇa* about the origin of the Śakas, Kāmbojas etc., from the tail of a cow by Vaśiṣṭha is absurd but it is indicative of the contempt in which they were generally held. Dr. B. C. Law draws our attention to a

42 iv. 43. 12. 43 *Mbh* (B)., vii. 18. 7. 44 XII. 207. 43.

45 *PH*., p. 126. Dr. B. C. Law is of opinion that the Kāmbojas must have been a Vedic Indian people and not Iranian as has been supposed by some scholars (*TAI*., pp. 1-2).

46 B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya tribes of Ancient India*, 1924, p. 249-50.

47 i. 67. 32; ii. 4. 22; v. 165. 1-3.

48 i. 6. 22. 49 *AS*., p. 407.

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statement of Pāṇini which speaks of the Kāmbojas as Muṇḍā or shavenheaded[50]. Strangely enough the *Harivaṁśa* has a reference to this; the legend runs that the Kāmbojas were compelled to shave the whole of their head like the Yavanas[51]. In the *Mahābhārata* they are even called Mlecchas and are said to have evil customs[52]. This is also supported by the evidence of a Jātaka story where the non-Aryan customs of a Kāmboja horde are hinted[53]. Like other Punjab races the Kāmbojas are stigmatised by Manu who says that they were Kṣatriyas originally, but became degraded through the extinction of sacred rites[54]. A passage states that they were valiant fighters: *Kāmbojā yuddha durmmadāḥ*[55]. The geographical location of this tribe has not been satisfactorily settled[56]. Zimmer on the authority of a passage in the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, conjectures that the Kāmbojas and Madras lived not far distant in space.[57] The latter, presumably the Uttara-Madras, lived in the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* beyond the Himalaya. The passage of the *Mahābhārata* which gives a clue to the home of the people runs thus: "*Karṇa Rājapuraṁ gatvā Kāmbojā-nirjitāstvayā Girivrajagatyāścapi*[58]. Rājapura has been identified with Rajaori to the south Kasmir and south-east of Punch[59], the Ho-lo-she-pu-lo of Hiuen Tsang[60]. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri says that the association of the Kāmbojas with the Gandhāras helps to establish this identity. No doubt this condition is satisfactorily accommodated in this location, but what about their association with the Yavanas which is too frequently noticed to be ignored? Dr. Ray Chaudhuri says that Hiuen Tsang's account of Rājapura and the neighbouring countries agree wonderfully with the Kāmbojas. This is hardly a convincing evidence, for tribes with 'rude violent dispositions' and of 'fierce and passionate temper', are frequently found in the pilgrim's account of trans-Hindukush regions (see the descriptions of Hamatala, Badakshan etc.). The inhabitants of these regions were the people who did not "properly belong to India" and were really 'frontier people.' Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's contention that on the west, Kāmboja must have reached out as far as Kāfiristan, is again opposed to all known facts

50 *TAI.*, p. 3. 51 *HV.*, i. 14. 16. 52 *MP.*, p. 318.
53 *CJ.*, VI, p. 110. 54 X. 43-44. 55 *Mbh.*, vii. 117, 12
56 For various theories on the location of Kāmboja, see *TAI.*, p. 2-3.
57 *Ved. Ind.*, I. 84-85 & p. 138.
58 VII, 4. 5. 59 *PH.*, pp. 126-27. 60 *BR.*, I, p. 163.

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about the geography and ethnography of this region. The cis-Indus and trans-Indus Valleys between Kasmir and Kafiristan was the home of many peoples such as the Darvas, Abhisīras, Uraśas, Kuhakas, Arimarddanas and Aśmakas. It is of course true that the same country very often happen to be the home of more than one tribe, but such a wide extent of the Kāmboja country seems improbable. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri also does not explain Girivraja of the above passage which in the north can only refer to the Kekaya city or to the little Rājagṛha, Po-ho or Balkh of Hiuen Tsang's itinerary. Is it to be understood that Karṇa after vanquishing the Kāmbojas in Kashmir marched as far as Balkh, or is it hinted that Rājapura was near about Girivraja, that is, Rājagṛha, the city of Po-ho or Balkh the ancient Bactria?

The Kāmboja country was famous for its horses[61]. Other countries where horses of repute were found in ancient times were Samarkand[62], Tukhāristān[63], Khorāsān[64], Dranga[65], Vālhika[66], Cina[67], Wakkān[68], Asvaka[69], Gandhāra[70], Vanāyu[71], Baluchistān[72], Sindhu[73], Arbuda[74], and Āraṭṭa[75]. It appears that excepting the last three, all these countries famous for the breed of horses were situated to the west of the Indus. The reference to the horses of the Kāmboja country unmistakably points to its location in the west far beyond the Indus and this is consistent enough with the association of the Kāmbojas and the Yonas, as border tribes of Aśoka's dominion which stretched as far as Peshawar on the west as the Shābazgarhi edict proves.

61 *Mbh.*, vii. 35. 36; 119. 26; ii. 51. 4; Rām. i. 6. 22; IV. 165, *RT.*, I, p. 136; *Harṣacarita* (Trans. by Cowell and Thomas), p. 50. In the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 49. 19 & ii. 51. 3) it is said that the Kāmboja country produced excellent blankets.

62 *BR.*, I, p. 32.

63 IV, 166, *RT.*, I, p. 136.

64 *DD.*, p. 242; *Harṣacarita* (trans. by Cowell and Thomas), p. 50.

65 *Ariaspae of Arrian*, Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

66 *Mbh.*, vii. 35. 36; 119. 26; *Rām.*, i. 6. 22.

67 *MP.*, p. 319.

68 *YC.*, II, pp. 279-80.

69 *MM.*, pp. 157-58.

70 *Mbh.*, ii. 51. 10.

71 *Mbh.*, vii. 35. 36; 119. 26; *Rām.*, I. 6. 22.

72 *IG.*, VI, p. 298. *Harṣa-carita*, op. cit.

73 *Rām.*, i. 6. 22; *Harṣa-carita*, *op. cit.*; *MP.*, p. 315; *BR.*, II, p. 272; *Vol. Ind.*, I, 43.

74 *MP.*, p. 289; *IA.*, IV. 267; *Mbh.*, ii. 51 30.

75 *Harṣa-carita*, *op. cit.*

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The Yona territory mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* had its chief city at Alasanda. Geiger identifies Alasanda with the Alexandrian town built near Kabul[76], which according to Cunningham was in or near Opian, 50 miles to the north of Kabul. Very close to Opian, within six miles to the east, lay Begrām and Cunningham identifies it with the Karsana of Ptolemy and Kalasi of the Buddhist chronicles which is also mentioned as Alasanda, the capital of the Yona country[77]. The neighbouring regions of Afghanistan as we have already noted had the reputation for good horses and these features answer some of the requirements of the Kāmboja country. An evidence in favour of this hypothesis is obtained from the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Raghu after vanquishing the Pārasīkas (iv. 60f) marched against the rulers of Udicyadeśa (vs. 66) in course of which he reached the river Sindhu (vs. 67) which is a mistake for Vaṅkṣu, where i.e. in the Oxus Valley (Bactria) he had an encounter with the Hūṇas (vs. 68). The Hūṇs being overrun, Raghu set off towards the kings of the Kāmboja country (vs. 69) who being mowed down offered rich presents including horses (vs. 70) to Raghu. The locality thus indicated by all these notices point to Badakshan to the south-east of Balkh which is situated at the foot of Hindu-Kush on the Oxus basin. Raghu it is stated went up the Himalayas (vs. 71) after he had subdued the Kāmbojas. The Yona country Alasanda it may be noted lay on the other side of the Hindu-Kush.

The Kāmboja country of the North or North-West had, therefore, a great reputation for horses. Kāmboja in the Monghyr Grant of Devapāla where his horses roamed about (v. 13) may refer to that country[78]. But the Irdā plate of the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva[79] which may be placed in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. and the Bāngarh (Dinajpur) pillar inscription of the Kāmbōjā-nvayaja Gaudapati which is referred to the same century shows that the Kāmbojas occupied a considerable portion of Bengal[80]. A Kāmboja

76 *Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger's translation p. 194.

77 *CAGI.*, pp. 32-33. In the Vaijayanti Yavana is identified with Huruṣkara (*IHQ.*, XIX, 216,) a name which seems to be unknown to ancient writers.

78 *DUHB.*, p. 118. 79 *EI.*, XXII, 154-55.

80 But the theory of a Kāmboja invasion is considered highly improbable (*DUHB.*, p. 134). The Kāmbojas of Bengal are, however, considered to be the same as the Kāmbojas of the North-Western Frontier. For other views on the subject see *ibid.*, 191.

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country on the north-eastern frontiers of India is known to have existed[81]. Lüders' Inscriptions Nos. 176 and 472 refer to the gift of a monk Kābōja (Kāmbōja) from Nādinagara (Nāndinagara) at Sāñci Buddhist Stūpa. The monk was a Kāmboja of Nandinagara which might have been a place in the neighbourhood of Sāñci. In the *Agni-purāṇa* Kāmboja and Kāmbhōja are given as names of two places in the South and S. W. division respectively of India[82]. In the *Bārbas-patya Arthaśāstra* Kāmboja is grouped with Daśārṇa as one of the Mahāviṣayas[83]. A branch of the Kāmbojas called Apara-Kāmbojas is also usually noticed.

S. B. Çhaudhuri

81 *DHNI*., I. p. 309. fn. 2.
82 *IHQ*., IX, 470 ff.

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this paper are the following: —

AS = Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Trans. by Dr. R. Shamasastry.
BR = Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal.
CAGI = Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, edited by S. N. Mazumdar.
CII = Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
CJ = The Jātaka, edited by Cowell.
CL = Carmichael Lectures by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
DD = Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaevel India by N. L. De.
DHNI = The Dynastic History of Northern India by Dr. H. C. Roy.
DUHB = The History of Bengal, vol. I edited by R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University).
HV = Harivaṁśa.
IG = The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908.
MA = Ancient India, by Mc Crindle.
MM = Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian by Mc Crindle.
MP = The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, translated by Pargiter.
NHH = Notes on the History of the Himalaya of the N. W. P., India by E. T. Atkinson 1883.
NHIP = A New History of the Indian People, vol. VI, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar.
PH = Political History of Ancient India by Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri.
RT = Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī edited by Stein
SI = Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, vol. I, edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar.
TAI = Tribes in Ancient India, by Dr. B. C. Law.
YC = On Yuan Chwang by T. Watters.

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Mingling of Islamic and Indigenous Traditions in Indian Music

India, during her long history, has shown remarkable capacity for the assimilation of diverse cultures. In the wake of invasions followed cultural contacts. Kings and soldiers were accompanied by scholars and artists and while the soldier got busy consolidating his gains, the scholar and the artist went round diving deep into the springs of indigenous arts and learning. The fiery soldier under the influence of scholars and saints was thus ennobled in his outlook and impelled to patronise art and letters and to love the land as his country of adoption.

Thus it was that the Muslim conquerors of India were invariably accompanied by zealous missionaries and scholars. In the wake of Arabs and Turks and Persians followed spiritualists and pacifists who recognised no trammels or boundaries in matters of culture and learning. The Muslim scholars, who came to India, were received with an open mind. Not only did they settle down in the new land and regard its people with love and affection, but they even began to study the cultural and intellectual movements of the Hindus whose supremacy in sciences and learning they had long recognised. Such was the influence of Indian culture that though they came in search of knowledge they stayed on to become the children of the soil. Many of them, no doubt, went back carrying with them rich stores of knowledge and good will.

Indian influence thus travelled far and wide. Some of the Muslim scholars and spiritualists carried new ideas and knowledge back to the seat of Islamic culture whence they had derived their original inspiration. Often they carried with them some of the Hindu scholars and scientists of eminence who were liberally patronized and welcomed even at the court of the highest Muslim Pontif.[1] And yet, strange as it may seem, it was again to India that Islam turned repeatedly to lay down the foundations of its empire.

But this process of cultural exchange was, however, not one-sided. While the Muslims partook of the great spiritual wealth of Hinduism in

1 Al-Biruni, *India* (tr. by Sachau), Introduction.

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their thought and institutions, the Indian artistic and cultural movements were also influenced, in their turn, by Islamic thought. Arts and literature thus flourished and social and cultural movements revived though in a synthetic form. This unity or synthesis of the two cultures was, perhaps, nowhere more evident that in the sphere of song and melody which in their form and expression became partly Muslim and partly Hindu.

Indian musical traditions exerted considerable influence on Arabic music. The system of music that prevailed in early Islam for several centuries was derived partly from Greek and partly from Persian and Indian treatises.[2] In fact, many of the technical terms prevalent in Arabic music, according to Lane, were "borrowed from the Persian and Indian language."[3] Later when Baghdad became the seat of the mighty Muslim empire, Indian influences penetrated still further in the Islamic culture of Persia. Indian melodies, according to available historical evidence, were well known to the Persians. Some of the Muslim scholars translated Indian treatises on musical science, into Persian, with the help of Hindu Pandits.

In the reign of A'zam Shāh, Mirzā Khān, a Persian scholar, compiled a volume called *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind* based on the Hindu classics, *Rāgārṇava, Rāgadarpaṇa* and *Sabhā Vinoda*. Other Persian works were also written and were based on Sànskrit works.[4] Thus it was that India during this period saw the inter-change of musical and cultural traditions between the Islamic and the Hindu world. This great movement penetrated far and deep into the prevailing traditions of both and resulted in what may be termed the re-orientation or synthesis of the arts and letters of the two civilisations.

As we think of this great period of India's cultural and artistic re-orientation the names of many celebrated poets and musicians come to our mind. But no single individual has, perhaps, made a greater contribution to the evolution and enrichment of Indian classical music, popular today, than Amir Khusraw, the Muslim bard of medieval India. This remarkable Persian poet and musician, who was a versatile genius, combined in himself the gifts of both song and verse, and did much, during

2 Francesco Salvador-Daniel, *the Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab;* pp. 174-186.

3 Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (quoted from Francesco Salvador-Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab,* pp. 174-175).

4 Shankar Rao Shiva Ram: *Sangit Candrodaya.*

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his life time, to familiarize Indians with certain musical modes then popular in Persia.

Persian models began to be introduced into Indian music. This gave rise to two schools of musical traditions—the Northern and the Southern. The Northern school which felt the impact of Islamic and Persian culture more closely and powerfully, became widely different, in course of time, from the Southern school. The Northern school adopted a new scale, as its model, i.e., the "*śuddha*" scale; while the Southern school retained the traditional one. Hence it was that the gulf between the Northern and the Southern schools became wider and more marked.

Amir Khusraw, it might be of interest to mention here, was of Turkish descent. His father, Amir Sayfuddin Mahmud, was a Turk who had fled from his homeland in Bokhara when the Mongols invaded that country. During his wandering he came to India and settled down in Patyali, where Amir Khusraw was born in the year A.H. 651/1253 A.D.[5] While thus inheriting the physical peculiarities of a Turkish descent, Amir Khusraw had also imbibed all the good influences of an Indian atmosphere. In his attainment he proved to be versatile. He was at once a soldier and a profound scholar who could at times rise to great heights of imagination. As a soldier he took part in several campaigns of which he himself gives a vivid account in his works.

Destiny had marked Amir Khusraw for something great. There could thus be no better choice than that of this man of great abilities to bring about that harmony or mingling of Persian and Indian cultures which is a precious heritage of ours now. It is, therefore, not only as a singer but also as a poet that Amir Khusraw has become a fascinating subject of study for us. He was enormously productive and is said to have composed innumerable verses (nearly half a million, according to Dawlat Shah). These works no doubt testify to the fertility of his mind. Sultan Mirza Baisunqar, it is said, made ceaseless effort to collect his verses but succeeded in collecting only 120,000. Afterwards he discovered 2,000 more from his Ghazals, but soon gave up further quest as too stupendous.[6] Amir Khusraw has a particular appeal for us, primarily, as a master-

5 Browne, E. G.: *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. III. (1265-1502 A.D.) pp. 108-109.

6 Browne, E. G.: *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. III. (1265-1502 A.D.), pp. 108-109.

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musician of his age. He had the good fortune to have lived a long life, and to have enjoyed the favours of five successive kings of Delhi. The most important of these kings were, Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban and Alauddin Khilji. He had complete mastery over the technicalities of Indian music. He had also made a deep study of the Persian musical system and was responsible for identifying many Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs with their counterparts in the Persian system. This also proves that in certain respects the essentials of Indian classical music and Persian music were substantially alike. Indian classical Rāgas were thus known to the Persians, though under different names. Endowed as he was with a keen intellect and a creative genius, Amir Khusraw introduced new and finer variations of Rāgas. The tendency to create new Rāgiṇīs by mixing the old Rāgiṇīs of the classical Thātas or by mixing the Persian and Indian Rāgiṇīs is thus clearly discernible in his works.

Amir Khusraw further enlarged the scope of the development of the Indian classical music. But to suggest that he changed the traditional Hindu music is perhaps exaggerated. In fact, Amir Khusraw never aimed at such a change. He himself writes:

"I am an Indian, if a Turk. I do not derive my inspiration from Egypt. I do not therefore speak of Arabia, My lyre responds to the Indian theme."[7]

He is also said to have invented Tarānā and evolved Bahār. The evolution of Qawali, an elastic mode of singing combining Persian and Indian models, is also traditionally attributed to him. Another musical instrument Sitar (or Sehtar)—modification of Vīṇā—was also introduced by him. The *śuddha* scale of the Sitar, it may be of interest to note here, is the same as the *śuddha* scale of the Northern school, and may be regarded as an adaptation from the ancient *śuddha* scale of the Vīṇā of which Sitar is only a modification.

Legends surround the name of Amir Khusraw and history records an interesting account of his discourses on musical science with Gopāl Nāyak[8]—the renowned Hindu singer of that time whose fame and talent had spread far and wide. Amir Khusraw lived long and along with his fellow-poet, Amir Hasan of Delhi, sat at the feet of the great Muslim

7 Dr. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, *Life and Works of Amir Khusraw*, University of the Punjab, 1935.

8 Shibli, *Shair-ul-Ajam*, vol. II, p. 136.

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saint Nizam-ud din Auliya, whose disciples they were. The saint died in A.H. 725 (1329 A.D.); Amir Khusraw himself died only seven months after and was buried by the side of the Saint.[9]

But the movement to mix Persian and Indian melodies, or to evolve new ones, did not stop with the death of Amir Khusraw. The popularity of Qawali only proves this fact. Based on this style, another mode of singing also came into vogue—called the Ghazal. The Ghazal is predominantly Persian in form and expression and its theme is almost always love.

Under Akbar, however, Indian classical music received a new impetus and a fresh consciousness. The Emperor, as Abul Fazl tells us, was a great lover of music and also a good player on the Nakkarah (kettle drum). He collected around him lovers of music and art irrespective of their caste or creed. Akbar, so writes the contemporary historian, "pays much attention to music and is the patron of all who practise this enchanting art. There are numerous musicians at Court—Hindus, Iranis, Turanis, Kashmiris, both men and women. The court musicians are arranged in seven divisions, one for each day of the week."[10] The very fact that musicians of such diverse nationalities and religions worked together under the Emperor's patronage must naturally have contributed largely to the mingling of the art traditions.

Abul Fazl also gives us a long list of thirtysix musicians at Akbar's court. The most important in this galaxy of artists were: Baz Bahadur, Mian Tansen, Kalawant and others. Baz Bahadur was an ex-King of Malwa and was subsequently a Mansabdar of 1000. He is described as "a singer without rival." Tansen was also originally a Hindu from Gwalior. Formally in the service of the Raja of Rewa, Tansen took lessons in the school of Man Singh of Gwalior and after death was buried near the tomb of Pir Muhammad Ghaus whose disciple he was.[11] Lal Kalwant or Miyan Lal was a Hindu and the Emperor seems to have taken lessons under him. He taught him "every breathing and sound that appertains to the Hindu language." He had acquired a great knowledge

9 Browne, E. G.: *A History of Persian Literature*, vol. III. (1265-1502), p. 107.

10 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), p. 612.

11 Forbes states that Tansen died at Lahore and that his body was taken to Gwalior and buried there. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (1813), vol. II, p. 32.

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of music and is said to have harmonised 200 old Persian tunes, the most excellent of which were the *Jilal-Shahy*, the *Mahameerkurget* and the *Nowrozy*.[12] The other two talented musicians of Akbar's court were Hasan Khan Khazanei and Mahapattar.[13]

The Emperor never shirked in his bounty and liberally rewarded his musicians, both Hindus and Muslim. He is said to have granted a sum of two lakh of rupees to Mian Tansen as a reward. His example was, no doubt, followed by his nobles also. Abdur Rahim Mirza, Khan-i-Khanan rewarded Ram Das by presenting him with a sum of one lakh of rupees.[14]

It was a period of renaissance in the history of classical music. Most of the musicians adopted the pure technique of the Southern school of music and a few followed the traditions of the Northern. Even amongst the latter, very few started with the "*śuddha*" scale as it was. The musicians, in order to satisfy the tastes of their patrons, began to make adjustments and alterations in the orthodox Rāgas. Thus it was that while the Hindu musicians under the guidance and inspiration of Raja Mān Singh, invented and patronized the Dhrupad style, some new modifications were also sought to be introduced by artists who had deeply assimilated the Persian technique.

The Dhrupad style, respected even to this day, was highly perfected by musicians like Svāmi Haridas and his disciple Tansen. But Hindu Dhrupad mode of singing, being extremely slow and complex in rhythm and intricate in style and framework, remained academically pure and therefore uninteresting to Muslim musicians who could not easily practise or appreciate it. They evolved new forms or compositions of music. That Indian classical music, which is so rigid and inelastic, could lend itself to such perfect changes and evolutions, must, however, be regarded as a stupendous task which only a great master like Tansen could achieve. The musicians of Akbar's court simplified the complex Dhrupad style of composition and derived from it the Khyāl which was also based on Hindu Gayaki. It was developed in the beginning largely along the same lines as the Dhrupad; and in the slow or the Vilambit Khyāl, they preserved the serenity and depth of the Dhrupad

12 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Gladwin), vol. I, part I, p. 150.
13 *Akbar Namah*, vol. II., p. 381.
14 Law, N. N., *Promotion of Learning*, p. 155.

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style. In fact, if we trace the technique of the two styles in their first half—in Sthāyī and Antarā-Khyāl and Dhrupad are very much alike in their development.

Mian Tansen gave a definite form to certain classical Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs and their names still bear the evidence of the change. The most famous of these are *Miyan-ki-Malhar* and *Miyan-ki-Todi* and *Miyan-ki-Bahar*. Attempts were also made during Akbar's reign to set Persian Ghazals to classical tunes, but this did not affect in any substantial manner the nature and fundamentals of Indian music. Tansen and his followers tried to maintain the purity of the classical traditions and Akbar's attachment to the classical Kanhara is evidenced by the fact that it is still known as Darbāri (The kot ḳanhara).

Some critics are of opinion that it was Mian Tansen who was responsible for the deterioration of Indian music[15] and that some *śuddha* Rāgas like Megh and Hindol were amended and spoiled by him. This contention is perhaps based more on misrepresentation than on actual facts. The changes introduced by Tansen clearly show the tendency to assimilate and synthesise Persian tunes, which only enriched the classical music.

Tansen, it was again who further developed the Taraṇa mode of singing. The Taraṇa is mainly an imported mode of singing having no words with any definite meaning. He enriched its scope by adding Persian and Indian words to it. He is further believed to have invented musical instrument called the "Rabāb" as an accompaniment to vocal music. The instrument was so designed that it appropriately suited the need of the Dhrupad singers.

It might be of interest to note here that the two families of Tansen's descendants, the Rababiyas and the Binkars, (who trace their descent from his son Bilas Khan and his daughter's husband Misri Singhji) still stick to the two distinct modes of singing, Dhrupad and Khyal, respectively sung with Rabab and Vīṇā.

Since then Indian music has undergone tremendous changes and modifications. We owe this to the combined efforts of an exceptionally talented group of musicians of Akbar's court, like Tansen; Jeen Khan and Baij Nath (popularly called Bhaijju Bavara, i.e., Baijju "the revengeful"). Of these, the last named, Baijju Bavara (originally a Brahmin by caste but

15 Strangeways, F., *Music of Hindustan*, p. 83.

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later on a convert to Islam) had attained such a proficiency in the technicalities and intricacies of both Persian and Indian music, that he left an imperishable record of his words by translating into Persian the Indian treatise on music *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* and compiling another work in Persian (*Auk-de-Gosa*) based on Sanskrit works.

In 1073 A.H./1662 63 A.D. Faqir Ullah translated another musical classic *Rāgadarpaṇa* (originally called in Sanskrit *Manahkutuhal* into Persian. It was probably completed in 1665 66 A.D. The original Sanskrit work is said to have been prepared at the request of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior.

Tansen's name has become almost a legend in Indian classical music and fanciful tales are still told of how he used to spend much of his time listening to the music of peasants and village girls. Some of these tales even attribute to him the power to stop the flow of Jumna or to create rain or even to extinguish fire by his sweet melodies and by particular Rāgas sung on particular occasions. Tradition has it that he even took lessons in music from Svāmī Hari Das of Vrindaban, a saintly figure of that time who exercised, though unofficially, a great influence on the contemporary art.

The musical traditions of Akbar's days also continued in the time of his successor, Jehangir. He perpetuated his father's practice of fixing each day of the week for a particular group of singers.[16] Shauqi was a famous mandolin player of his time upon whom he bestowed the title of "Anand Khan" (i.e. the giver of pleasure)."[17] The Emperor also gave a generous reward of about 6,300 rupees to Ustad Muhammad Mayi, the flute player, who was sent to him by his son, Khurram.[18]

Jehangir's successor, Shahjehan, in spite of his orthodox proclivities, felt so pleased on one occasion with the performance of the Hindu musician Jagan Nath that he had him weighed against gold and bestowed the whole amount upon him.[19] Shahjehan also patronized Ram Das, another great musician like Jagan Nath.

With the decline of the Mughal power, the art of music also began to show signs of deterioration. The puritanical Aurangzeb dealt almost a

16 Fosters, W., *Early Travels in India*, p. 183.
17 *Memoirs of Jehangir*, (Beveridge), vol. I, p. 331.
18 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 376.
19 Crooks, W., *Things Indian*, p. 339.

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death-bow to art. But if we were to survey the past, we will find that the classical traditions have undergone a great transformation. While some musicians maintained the purity of the Hindu style and continued to sing *Dhrupad*, *Git*, *Pad* and *Bhajan*, later-day musicians, usually practised *Khyal*, *Tappa*, *Rekhatā*, *Ghazal*, *Tarānā*, *Kol* and *Marsia*. Tansen's descendants had divided themselves into two families—Rababiyas and Binkars, whose successors later on served in the court of the Mughal Emperor, Mohammad Shah. One of the representatives of the Rababiya family subsequently took service at the Rampur Court.

After centuries of rise and fall, the art is still mainly the monopoly of Muslim musicians. But irrespective of differences of caste or creed, Hindu lovers sit reverently at the feet of Muslim masters and *vice versa*.

A new renaissance movement, started in the beginning of the 20th century, by the late Pandit Vishnu Digamber, gave a new impetus to the classical tradition. Of his disciples, who have earned good name in this field, are Pt. Omkar Nath Thakur, Pt. Vinayak Rao Patwardhan, Pt. Narayan Rao Vyas and Pt. Shankar Rao Vyas. During the life time of Pt. Vishnu Digambar Paluskar, Pt. Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande founded another school of music, distinguished from the former by a different system of notation. But in this movement of resurgence of classical tradition we must not forget the names of celebrated Muslim musicians, particularly the late Abdul Qarim Khan whose name is still fresh in the mind of lovers of classical music. Mention must also be made of Ustad Faiyyaz Khan of Baroda, Ustad Chumaji of Surat, Ustad Asad Ali of Agra, Mushtaq Ali of Rampur and Ustad Nuruddin Khan Saheb.

The famous instrumentalists of today, to mention only a few names, are, Alauddin Khan Saheb of Maihar State and his sons Ali Akbar, Ghulam Haider and Inayat Ullah. They still represent the traditions of Hindu-Muslim unity in music which was evolved during the medieval era.

KAUMUDI

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MISCELLANY

The Ancient City and District of Kṛmilā

The Monghyr plate of king Devapāla (*circa* 810-50 A.D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar was discovered as early as 1780. It was first published in 1788 in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. I, pp. 13 ff. The inscription was reedited by F. Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXI, 1892, pp.. 254 ff.; by A. K. Maitreya in the *Gauḍalekhamālā*, B.S. 1319 (1913 A.D.), pp. 33 ff.; and by L. D. Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 304 ff. The grant was issued by the Paramasaugata-Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Devapāladeva in the 33rd year of his reign from his *jaya-skandhāvāra* at Mudgagiri, i.e., modern Monghyr, the headquarters of a district of that name in Bihar. By ths charter the Pāla king granted the village called Meṣikā-grāma in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Vihekarātamiśra. The village was situated in the *viṣaya* or district of Kṛmilā which formed a part of the *bhukti* or province of Śrīnagara. From the inscriptions of the Pālas, we come to know of the existence of two *bhuktis* or provinces in Bihar, viz., Śrīnagara-*bhukt* and the Tīra-*bhukti*.[1] The word *tīra* refers to the banks of the Ganges. Tīra-*bhukti* is the same as the modern Tirhut and apparently indicated that part of Bihar which lay to the north of that river. The expression *Śrī-nagara* meaning "the illustrious city," i.e., the city *par excellence*, referred to the celebrated ancient city of Pāṭaliputra (of which the modern representative is Patna derived from Sanskrit *pattana* or township) and the Srīnagara-*bhukti* no doubt included the districts of South Bihar having their administrative headquarters at the above city.[2] Of the *viṣayas* or districts forming the Tīra-*bhukti* in the age of the Pālas, we know only of the Kakṣa-*viṣaya*, and, of those forming the Śrīnagara-*bhukti*, such districts as the Gayā *viṣaya*, Rājagṛha-*viṣaya* and Kṛmilā-*viṣaya* are known from inscriptions.[3] Of these *viṣayas*, those of Gayā and Rājagṛha can be easily identified as the tracts of land round respectively the modern towns of Gayā and Rājgīr (i.e., Rājagṛha), the her emblem, lying in the verandah of the Katchery of Babu Dilipnarayan

1 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Dacca University, p. 273.

2 Cf. the commentary on *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra* VI, 5, 30: *Nāgarikā iti Pāṭaliputrikāḥ*, etc.

3 Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 274, 400.

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latter being now situated in the administrative division known as the Gaya District of Bihar. But the exact situation of the Kakṣa-*viṣaya* in the Tīra-*bhukti* and the Kṛmilā-*viṣaya* in the Śrīnagara *bhukti* could not be satisfactorily determined. Recently I have discovered certain new inscriptions of the Pāla period, which throw interesting light on the location of the Kṛmilā-*viṣaya*.

In the first half of January 1950, I visited, in course of a search for inscription, certain villages in the neighbourhood of the Kiul and Luckeesarai railway stations on the East Indian Railway about the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar. Long ago Alexander Cunningham made an epigraphical survey of many villages of South Bihar and the interesting results of that survey are recorded in his celebrated reports. But it is doubtful if it was possible for him to visit all the villages. Moreover, images both inscribed and uninscribed are being discovered every year in various villages of that area at the point of the cultivator's ploughshare and the workman's spade and a large number of them, discovered after Cunningham's survey, has accumulated in many villages. There is no doubt that many of such images have often been carried away from the find-spots by interested persons; but the epigraphic survey conducted by me only in a few villages convinced me fully that very good results may still be obtained if the images (unfortunately broken in most cases), scattered over almost all old villages in South Bihar, are made the object of a careful search in the line initiated by Cunningham more than seventy-five years back but not seriously continued afterwards.

There is a village called Valgūdar (often said to be Vargūjar), near Rajauna and Chauki, on the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations. I visited the village on the 9th of January and discovered no less than three interesting inscriptions. A stone pedestal of a lost image in a locality, called Saṅgat owing to its being a Sikh religious establishment in the village, was found to bear a very important inscription dated both in the 18th regnal year of king Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty and in the Śaka year 1083. I have discussed the importance of the date of this record elsewhere; but the fact it records is also very interesting. It says that two Vaiṣṇava brothers of a Brāhmaṇa family established an image of the god Nārāyaṇa at Kṛmilā. The second inscription discovered and examined by me at Valgūdar was found on a broken image of a goddess with a child on her lap and with a lion as

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Sinha who is a zamindar of Bhagalpur. It may be mentioned here that images representing the Devī with child seem to have been very popular in all parts of South Bihar. I have noticed such images in many villages. One such image is now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art of the University of Calcutta and it bears an inscription of the time of Rāmapāla. The find-spot of this image also seems to me to be some village of South Bihar. A similar image at Rajauna near Valgūdar is known, from the inscription on it, to have been called Puṇḍeśvarī. It is possible that this rural deity, apparently not unconnected with the conception of Pārvatī with Skanda on her lap as indicated by the theme of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava,* and of the Buddhist Hārītī, was worshipped under different local names in various localities.[4] The inscription on the Valgūdar image of the Devī with child says that it was installed by a person named Nṛkaṭṭa at the *adhiṣṭhāna* or city of Kṛmilā. It may be noticed that the spelling of the name in this record is the same as in the Monghyr inscription of Devapāla, although in the Valgūdar inscription of Madanapāla's time it is written slightly differently. The word *kṛmilā* means a "a fruitful woman" or "a place full of worms" and the word *kṛmi* forming its first part is sometimes also written as *krimi.* Our second inscription does not refer to the reigning monarch. Its palæography however seems to suggest a date earlier than the days of Madanapāla. The third inscription that I discovered at the same village was on a stone pedestal of a lost image now being used by people as a platform for washing feet in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha. The inscription it bears says that the image in question was installed at the *adhiṣṭhāna* or city of Kṛmilā during the rule of Dharmapāla whose reign is now assigned to *circa* 770-810 A.D.[5] The regnal year is not referred to.

Now the above three inscriptions, all discovered in the small village

4 Similar image, but with four arms and without the lion emblem, was found near Dacca and has been tentatively identified by Bhattasali (*Iconography*, pp. 63 ff.; plate XX) with Hārītī. Another form of the same primitive Mother-goddess with a child on her lap was conceived with a snake-canopy over her head and was worshipped both in Bihar and Bengal. I found one such image on the bank of the Sansārpokhrī at Luckeesarai. In Bengal, this deity later came to be identified with the snake-goddess Manasā (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 212 ff.; *Hist of Beng., op. cit.*, pp. 460 f.); but that she was originally worshipped under different local names is suggested by the Marail (Dinajpur District) image of the goddess known to have been called Bhaṭṭiṇī Maṭṭuvā.

5 *History of Bengal, op. cit.*, p. 177.

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of Valgūdar, show beyond doubt that the city of Kṛmilā or Krimilā, headquarters of the *viṣaya* or district of that name forming a part of the Śrīnagara-*bhukti* within the dominions of the Pālas, stood either on the very site of that village or on a site, parts of which are now occupied by the village. There is a stone slab representing the twelve Ādityas and containing an inscription dated in the fifth regnal year of the Pāla king Śūrapāla, probably the first king of that name who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, at the neighbouring village of Rajauna. This inscription also says that the slab was installed at Kṛmilā, and it appears that the slab was originally found at Valgūdar but was later carried to Rajauna. It is however not improbable that the site of the modern village of Rajauna was also within the bounds of the ancient city of Kṛmilā, although I am not quite sure about that. In any case, if the ancient city of Kṛmilā has to be identified with the present village of Valgūdar near Luckeesarai in the western fringe of the Monghyr District, there is no difficulty in locating the *viṣaya* or district of that name in the tract of land round that village, that is to say, roughly in the western part of the Monghyr District to the south of the Ganges between the land round Patna and that round Monghyr. It is quite probable that these two regions centering round Patna (i.e. ancient Śrīnagara) and Monghyr (ancient Mudgagirī) formed separate *viṣayas* within the Śrīnagara-*bhukti* and were known as the Śrīnagara-*viṣaya* and the Mudgagiri-*viṣaya* in the age of the Pālas. But on this point nothing can be said definitely until further evidence is forthcoming.

The *viṣaya* of Kṛmilā or Krimilā is also mentioned in the Nalanda plate[6] of Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D. As however the charter is spurious and seems to have been forged a few centuries after Samudragupta's time, it may or may not prove the existence of a *viṣaya* and therefore of a city of the above name in the fourth century. But that they existed before the Pāla occupation of Bihar may be suggested by the mention of the *viṣaya* on certain old seals found at Nalanda.[7] The village of Kavāla in the Krimilā-*viṣaya* known from one such seal appears to be, as suggested to me by Mr. A. Ghosh, no other than the present Kawāli not far from Valgūdar.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

6 *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 263.
7 *Mem. A.S.I.*, No. 66, pp. 34, 54.

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A Note on the Kesaribeda Plates of Arthapati

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has done well in calling attention to this important grant of the Nala king Arthapati,[1] published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 32 f. and in correcting some of the fantastic conjectures of Mr. Ramdas. I shall briefly discuss here some of the conclusions of Dr. Majumdar where I differ from him and call attention to some other points not noticed by him.

Mr. Ramdas has read the date of this grant as 58 *saṁvachare*. As Dr. Majumdar has pointed out there are no clearly inscribed symbols denoting 58. Besides, such symbols usually follow and do not precede a word like *saṁvat* (or *saṁvachare*). Dr. Majumdar reads this portion of the grant as *saṁvva* (for *saṁvat*) followed by a numerical figure. 'The symbol' says he, 'may be read as 100, 6 or 8 on the analogy of figures for those in the Kaliṅga records of the 7th-8th century A.D. given in Bühler's chart (Pl. IX, col. XV). It is difficult to be quite sure on this point, but the resemblance with the symbol for 100 is the closest.' Here I am unable to agree with Dr. Majumdar. A reference to Bühler's chart would show that the symbol for 100 has usually a wavy or elongated line at the top, resembling the *akṣara* लु[2]. Here the horizontal stroke at the top is quite straight. So the symbol cannot represent 100. It cannot also represent 50, with the symbol of which Dr. Majumdar thinks it is 'almost identical.' The symbol for 50 generally faces right; here it faces left. Besides, if the symbol really denotes 50 or 100, the date must refer to some era, for a reign of 100 years is impossible and that of 50 not very likely. Dr. Majumdar has not stated to what era this date is to be referred. Again, the Nalas, like several other early Indian dynasties, do not appear to have used any era in dating their records. Their Ṛddhapur plates for instance, are dated in the eleventh regnal year.[3] The symbol therefore probably stands for some unit figure.

1 Arthapati, as a king of the Nala dynasty, became known for the first time when I published his coins in *J.N.S.I.*, I. 29 f. His name had occurred in the Ṛddhapur plates, but there it was taken as an epithet of Bhavadatta himself. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 104, n. 6.

2 See e.g. the form of that letter in line 31 of the Vadgaon plates of Pravarasena II, published in *Ep. Ind.* vol. XXVII, pp. 15 f. Later on the symbol was like the *akṣara lu*. See Bühler's *Indian Palæography* (Eng. Transl.) p. 79.

3 Mr. Gupte who has edited the Ṛddhapur plates reads the verse recording

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In this connection I call attention to the close resemblance which this symbol bears to that denoting 7 in the Ābhoṇ plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa. As the date of this grant is expressed in words there is no uncertainty about its signification. The symbol in both these cases is like the *akṣara re* of the southern alphabet, the only difference being that in the Kesaribeda grant the *mātrā* for the medial *e* is in the same line as the box-head, while in the Abhoṇ grant it rises above the line. The difference is due to the later age of the Ābhoṇ grant. A similar symbol is used in l. 8 of the Indor grant of the *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and it is noteworthy that Dr. Majumdar also has read it there as 7.

Dr. Majumdar thinks that Arthapati was a grandson of Bhavadatta. This view is based on the use of the word *āryaka* in connection with Bhavadatta in the Ṛddhapur plates. Āryaka etymologically means 'venerable' and can therefore refer to the father also.[4] The Ṛddhapur grant was made by Bhavadatta at the holy place Prayāga when he visited it with his queen. It is dated in the eleventh regnal year, evidently of Bhavadatta himself. It was only executed by Arthapati. In ll. 21-24, Arthapati is said to have got the copper-plates engraved to record a pious gift calculated to increase the religious merit and fame of his father and mother.[5] If the grant had been made by this grandfather the reference to the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents by Arthapati would have been out of place. Besides, both the Ṛddhapur and Kesaribeda plates were written by the same Confidential Officer Culla.[6] This would show that they were not separated by a long period of time. It seems therefore that Arthapati was the immediate successor of Bhavadatta and that they were not separated by another ruler like Skandavarman as supposed by Dr. Majumdar. This is also corroborated by the

the date as follows

या चैकादशेथ वर्षे कार्त्तिकमासस्य बहुलसप्तम्याम् ।
खमुखाज्ञा(ज्ञ)याभिलिखितः (ता) रहसि नियुक्तेण(न) चुल्लेन ॥

This requires some correction. The first *akṣara yā* does not belong to this verse. Together with another *akṣara ka* written between the line 19 and 20, it forms part of the word *Madhulatikayā* which occurs in l. 19. The next *akṣara* read as *cai* is really *e*. Notice that it has no box-head.

4 In its Prakrit form *araka*, it occurs as an epithet of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi on his coin (*J.N.S.I.*, vol. XI, p. 59) and of Yajña-śri Sātakarṇi in his Cinna inscription (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920), p. 328.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 103.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 103; *B.R.S.*, vol. XXXIV, p. 41.

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recently discovered hoard of gold coins from the Bastar State. This hoard contained the coins of Bhavadatta and Arthapati, but not those of Skandavarman.[7] If Skandavarman had preceded Arthapati, his coins also, in all probability, would have been found with those of his predecessors.

As I have shown elsewhere,[8] it was Bhavadattavarman who invaded the Vākāṭaka kingdom and established himself at Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vākāṭakas. This evidently happened during the reign of Narendrasena, the son and successor of Pravarasena II. We learn from an incomplete grant of Narendrasena's son Pṛthivīṣeṇa II that the fortunes of the dynasty were at a low ebb during the preceding reign.[9] Bhavadattavarman's Ṛddhapur plates were issued during his rule in Vidarbha, and record the grant of a village in that part of the country. Arthapati seems to have been looking after the administration of the kingdom during the lifetime of his father. He is mentioned with the title *Mahārāja* at the end of the grant.

The Nalas seem to have soon lost Vidarbha; for we have no grant of any other Nala king from Vidarbha. The Kesaribeda plates were issued from the old Nala capital Puṣkarī, which shows that Arthapati had to retire to his ancestral kingdom probably soon after the death of Bhavadatta. The Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II not only recovered his lost kingdom, but carried the war into the enemy's territory and stormed and burnt Puṣkarī. The town was afterwards resettled by another son of Bhavadatta named Skandavarman who seems to have succeeded Arthapati.[10]

There are some other inaccuracies in Mr. Ramdas's article besides those noticed by Dr. Majumdar. He takes the expression *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛṣṭa-rājya-vibhavaḥ* used to describe the ruling king in both the Ṛddhapur and Kesaribeda grants, to mean who has created the supreme authority of administration of the kingdom with (such officers as) Maheśvara and Mahāsena.' This is a novel interpretation.[11] This expression has long been misinterpreted. It was first known to occur on a seal found at Bhita in the following form[12]—*Śrī-Vindhyavedhana-Mahārājasya*

7 *J.N.S.I.*, vol. I, pp. 29 f.
8 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, pp. 211 f.
9 *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 271.
10 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 153.
11 Mr. Ramdas has mistaken *atisṛṣṭa* (bestowed) for *sṛṣṭa* (created).
12 *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1911-12, p. 25.

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Mahāsena-ātisṛṣṭa-rājyasya vṛṣadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya. Marshall translated it as follows—'Of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra-Vṛṣadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who has made over his kingdom to the Great Lord Kārttikeya.' He interpreted it as indicating that 'in ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their *iṣṭa-devatā* and considered themselves as their mere agents. 'This translation and interpretation have misled many scholars. Jayaswal[13] and J. N. Banerji[14] have approvingly cited or referred to them in their works. All these scholars have evidently dissolved the compound *Maheśvara-Mahāsen-ātisṛṣṭa-rājyasya* as *Maheśvarāya Mahāsenāya atisṛṣṭaṃ rajyaṃ yena tasya.* Its correct dissolution however is *Mahesvareṇa Mahāsenena atisṛṣṭaṃ rājyaṃ yasmai tasya.* The expression should therefore be taken to mean that the king believed that he had obtained his kingdom by the grace of the great Lord Mahāsena (Kārttikeya).[15] Similar expressions indicating the belief that the particular royal family was created or protected by a certain deity occur in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka, Cālukyas and other royal families also. There is therefore no reference here to the dedication of the kingdom to any deity or to the administration of it with any officers.

V. V. Mirashi

13 *History of India* etc., p. 228.

14 *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 156-7.

15 Mr. Gupte who edited the Ṛddhapur plates has already given this interpretation in his translation (see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, 104), though he took Maheśvara to mean Śiva as distinct from Mahāsena (Kārttikeya). It is also possible that both Maheśvara and Mahāsena refer to Śiva. Mahāsena as a name of Śiva occurs in the *Mahābhārata* (*Anuśāsanaparvan, adhyāya* 17, v. 72). It is noteworthy that the coins of the Nalas have the figure of Śiva's bull.

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The time of staging a Sanskrit Drama—A Note

Live traditions of the ancient Sanskrit stage survive only in the temple theatres of Kerala. There scenes from Sanskrit dramas are staged at night, beginning after dinner and closing before morning rites in the temple begin. This is natural enough, since the show is held to be for the edification of the deity enshrined in the temple. The ony exception to this rule is as regards the staging of *Toraṇayudha,* which is the name given by actors to the third Act of *Abhiṣekanāṭaka:* this scene is staged *only* in the forenoon and never at any other time of day or night, as the professional temple actors' convention would have it. The actors themselves do not give any explanation for so doing: they could only say it is their time honoured convention. The writer has latterly come across a passage in the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* which sets forth the time of acting a Sanskrit drama. Since the subject does not seem to have attracted much attention, it may be noticed here.

The text on the subject runs as follows:

प्रादोषिकोऽर्धरात्रं च तथा प्राभातिकोऽपि वा ।
नाट्यवारा भवन्त्येते रात्रिगर्भममाशिता ॥
पौर्वाह्णिकस्तथा ज्ञेयोऽपराह्णिक एव च ।
दिवा समुत्थितावेतौ नाट्यवारौ प्रकीर्तितौ ॥
एतेषां तु यथायोगं नाट्यं कार्यं रसाश्रयम् ।
तदहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि वारं कालसमुत्थितम् ॥
यच्छ्रोत्तरमणीयं स्यात् धर्माख्यानकृतं तथा ।
तत्पूर्वाह्णे बुधैः कार्यं ..... ॥
सत्वोत्थानगुणैर्युक्तं वाद्यभूयिष्ठमेव च ।
पुष्कलं सिद्धियुक्तं चापराह्णे संप्रयोजयेत् ॥
कैशिकीवृत्तिसंयुक्तं शृङ्गाररससंश्रयम् ।
गीतवादित्रभूयिष्ठं प्रदोषे नाट्यमिष्यते ॥
यत्तु माहात्म्यसंयुक्तं करुणप्रायमेव च ।
प्रभातकाले तत्कार्यं नाट्यं निद्राविनाशिनम् ॥
अर्धरात्रे न युञ्जीत न मध्याह्ने तथैव च ।
संध्याभोजनकाले च नाट्यं नैव कदाचन ॥
अथवा देशकालौ तु न परीक्ष्यः कदाचन ।
यदाज्ञापयेत् भर्ता तदा योज्यमसंशयम् ॥

This is an interesting statement and it gives the answer to the question we have raised at the beginning. *Toraṇayudha* is staged in the forenoon, since it deals with *Dharmākhyāna,* i.e. it deals with a noble theme.

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Hanuman's adventures at Laṅkā cripples the power and prestige of Rāvaṇa and thus pave the way for the triumph of virtue over evil. Hence it is *Dharmākhyāna*, and such themes are always *Śrotraramaṇīya* (delightful to the ears). It is, therefore, only in accordance with the injunctions of Bharata that *Toraṇayudha* is staged in the forenoon.

Bharata divides night into three periods—the early part, beginning with dusk, the middle part or midnight and the latter part, ending with day-break. The day he divides into two parts—the *Pūrvāhṇa* or forenoon and the *Aparāhṇa* or the afternoon. These five periods are termed *Nāṭyacāras*—periods for dramatic representation. Then he lays down that no staging should be done at midnight and mid-day as well as during *Sandhyā* and meal time. Hence there are four periods only for staging Sanskrit dramas, and they are early forenoon and late afternoon, dusk and early part of night and the last part of the night ending with dawn. He has further laid down that the nature of the *Rasa* of the scene is the criterion which is to decide which scene is to be staged when. On this basis he states that whatever is sublime in them and elevating in character is to be staged in the forenoon. Scenes, bespeaking strength and achievement and accompanied by music, are to be shown in the afternoon. Love scenes, rich in music, vocal and instrumental, are to be staged during *Pradoṣa*, i.e. the early part of the night, while scenes of pathos are to come off in the latter part of the night, ending with the dawn. Since the majority of Sanskrit dramas are *Śṛṅgāric* in character, the main time of representation is early part of night, beginning with dusk.

Here is set forth the conventional time for the representation of Sanskrit dramas, the nature of the *Rasa* of the scene being the factor which determines the period of day or night, when the representation is to be made. But the desire for *recreation*, which is the avowed purpose of dramatic representation, cannot always be bound up with any scheduled timing; and this is particularly so in regard to people wielding authority, since their time is not always their own in view of their having to discharge varied duties and responsibilities, pertaining to their office. Hence the general rule is given an exception: any scene might be acted at any time of day or night, if the *Bhartā* so orders it. It is presumably under this qualifying condition that the professional temple actors of Kerala represent scenes from Sanskrit dramas at night: the temple magnates might have so ordered them, nights being more convenient to them.

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This fixing up of the time of representation has certainly much to do with the nature of seating and lighting arrangements, of scenic equipments and of the make-up and costume of the actors. Indeed, what is good at night cannot be good during daytime. This convention, more or less, explains the total absence of reference to stage lighting and the great importance attached to *Satvābhinaya*, and make-up and costume which are to be carefully devised to make the representation a success—to make the transmutation of the actor into the character effective. How far the construction of the drama and nature of the stage technique have been influenced by the time of representation of the drama remains still a subject for study and research.

In concluding this short note, the writer cannot help making one observation. Living traditions of the Sanskrit stage are not current anywhere other than in the temple theatres of Kerala, where they continue to have more or less a precarious existence as an appendage to temple festivities or as a seasonal entertainment for the edification of the religious and secular hierarchy, associated with the temple. Much, indeed, has been written regarding the literary value of Sanskrit dramas; but a discipline into their stage value and stage worthiness as well as the *modus operandi* of staging—in other words, the stage technique of Sanskrit dramas is something yet to be seriously attempted. Our dramas have, unfortunately, never been studied in correlation with stage technique, so elaborately set forth by Bharata in his *Nāṭya-sāstra;* and we are yet to attempt a reconstruction of our ancient stage traditions. This is a piece of work which ought to claim priority of attention at the hands of the rising generation of Sanskritists. Dramatic art is the noblest of arts—a *Kāmadhenu*, as it were, which yields to the spectator just what he wants. India must ere long see a renaissance of dramatic art and it must be reared up on the basis of our traditions of the art, so that it might reflect the spirit of India, as it was and as it should be. Here is the need for the elucidation of our ancient stage technique, in which grew our dramas and our dramatic art which combines in a harmonious whole the profound scholarship of a *Paṇḍita*, the discriminate appreciation of a *Rasika*, the valued instruction of an *Ācārya*, the exquisite art of a *Śilpin*, no less than the spiritual longings of a *Bhakta*.

K. R. Pisharoti

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Devānāṃpriya

Few Sanskrit words have a more interesting history than *devānāṁpriya*. According to Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Rāmācandra it meant a fool.[1] But much earlier than them Hemacandra and Kaiyaṭa had assigned it the same meaning. Especially interesting in this connection are the expository speculations of Kaiyaṭa, for they were copied also by later writers like Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa and Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. "The word *deva*," wrote Kaiyaṭa, "means a fool, and the favourites of fools are certainly fools." But as even he was probably not fully satisfied with this exposition, he had to say further, "Or it may be that the *sūta* intended to convey that the grammarian had not diligently studied his *śāstra*. *Devas* are given to pleasures and so was he, the *devānāṁpriya*."[2]

Yet we know that *devānāṁpriya* had at one time quite a different and much better sense. Aśoka used it for himself and his predecessors.[3] The Pāli *Dīpavaṁsa* applied it to the Ceylonese king, Tissa, a contemporary of Aśoka. In the *Aupapātika Sūtra* we find the word used in the form *devāṇuppiya* for certain rulers. With these examples of the usage of the word before themselves, scholars of Aśokan history have rightly concluded that *devānāṁpriya* did not originally mean a *mūrkha*. But here ends my agreement with them.

Let us first take the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. Finding *devānāṁpriya* used in a number of epigraphs for rulers alone, and associated by Patañjali with the words *bhavad*, *dīrghāyuṣ*, and *āyuṣmat*, he concluded his observations regarding its significance by saying, "*Devānāṁpriya* was thus an auspicious mode of address or *honorific characterisation before the Christian era, confined to the kings only, and so used probably to indicate the belief that the rulers were under the protection of the gods.*"[4]

Dr. B. M. Barua, while agreeing with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in regarding *devānāṁpriya* as an exclusively royal title, proposed a different theory about the way its meaning was derived. According to him the

1 Both of these grammarians give Kātyāyana's *vārtika* as "*devānāṁpriya iti ca mūrkhe.*"

2 "*Devaśabdo mūrkhavāci, mūrkhāṇāṁ ca priyā mūrkhā eva. athavā sukhāsaktatayā śāstrānabhiyogonena pratipādyate.*"
(Kaiyaṭa's comment on the *bhāṣya* on Pāṇini, 2. 4. 56).

3 See Rock-Edict VIII.

4 *Aśoka*, Second edition, pp. 7-8.

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ancient Indian rulers were called *devānāṁpriya* because of "the ceremony of consecration at which the representative Vedic gods Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūṣan and the like were invoked by the officiating priest to bestow on the king specific powers in their gift."[5]

Dr. R. K. Mookerji, another learned writer on Maurvan history, has not tried to derive the meaning of the word. But the fact that he thinks it best to translate it as "His Sacred and Gracious Majesty" shows that he too regarded it as a royal title. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri obviously shares the same view, though he does not at the same time ignore its literal meaning;[7] and as for other writers they mostly follow in the footsteps of these eminent scholars, the only exception perhaps being one who has contended that *deva* refers to the Jaina deity, and the title "beloved of the gods" should, in the case of Candragupta Maurya, be taken as proof of his having accepted the Jaina faith.[8]

The *Mahābhāṣya*, all these writers feel, is the book on the basis of which the real meaning of the word *devānāṁpriya* can be decided; and they are right too, for from epigraphs alone we can have only an idea of its general sense. If the students of Aśokan history can have any complaint, it is that the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* has not been so thoroughly studied as it should have been done. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, *devānāṁpriya* is an auspicious term all right; but it is by no means an honorific term deserving to be translated as His Sacred and Gracious Majesty. I was originally led to this conclusion by the position of the word *devānāṁpriya* between *dirghāyuṣ* and *āyuṣmān* in the *bhavadādi* group;[9] and this conclusion I am happy to find is confirmed by the manner in which the author of the great commentary used it himself in the following passage[10]:—

कश्चिद् वैयाकरण आह, "कोऽस्य रथस्य प्रवेतेति। सूत आह, "आयुष्मन्नहं प्राजितेति। वैयाकरण आह, "अपशब्द" इति। सूत आह, "प्राप्तिज्ञो देवानांप्रियो न त्विष्टिज्ञः। इष्यत एतद्रूपमिति।"

5 *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, p. 220. 6 *Aśoka*, p. 108, footnote 3.
7 See his *Political History of Ancient India*, 3rd Edition, p. 221.
8 The opinion is referred to in Dikshitar's *Mauryan Polity*, p. 291.
9 "*ke punar=bhavadādayaḥ, bhavān dirghāyur=devānāṁpriya āyuṣmāniti.*" *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, 5. 3. 14.
10 *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, 2. 4. 56.

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Here everyone can note that—

(i) that the man called *devānāmpriya* is no ruler; he is just an ordinary grammarian.

(ii) one and the same person is called *āyuṣmān* in one sentence and *devānāmpriya* in the other.

And having noted these facts everybody, I think, can state that in Pātañjalian usage *devānāmpriya* had no exclusive reference to royalty, its sense being nearer to *āyuṣmān* than to Sacred and Gracious Majesty. Patañjali gives no scope whatever for the sort of theories spun about the word by some of the scholars of Mauryan history.

Patañjali, it may be stated without much fear of contradiction, is an authority big enough to settle definitely the meaning of a Sanskrit term. But if one requires even then some further light on the significance of *devānāmpriya*, let him refer to another great book of ours, the *Śabara-bhāṣya*. Its comment on 1. 1. 25 begins with the words:—

यत्तु एकदेशस्य सतो नानादेशेषु युगपद्दर्शनमनुपपन्नम् — इति। आदित्यं पश्य, देवानांप्रिय, एकः सन् अनेकदेशावस्थित इव लक्ष्यते।

Here again the term *devānāmpriya* is neither used for a ruler nor is it much of an honorific.

The last of the great Sanskrit writers who used *devānāmpriya*[11] in a good sense is perhaps the great poet and stylist, Bāṇa. In his *Harṣacarita* we find Sāvitrī saying with reference to the youthful Dadhīca—

यत्त्रिभुवनाभिभावि रूपमिदमस्य महानुभावस्य सौजन्यपरतन्त्रता चेयं देवानां-प्रियस्यातिमात्रा कारयति कथां न युवतिजनसहोत्था तरलता।

Dadhīca was no ruler, no Sacred or Gracious Majesty. He was not even old enough to merit any honorific mention by his would-be mother-in-law, Sāvitrī.

A few more examples of the old usage of *devānāmpriya* can be put before our readers. But those already adduced probably suffice to show that neither before nor after the Christian era was *devānāmpriya* a title confined merely to rulers. It was not much of an honorific even; its sense, as shown above, being nearer to *āyuṣmān* than any other word. To burden it further with the meanings assigned to it by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and Dr. B. M. Barua is certainly going beyond all available evidence. "Dear unto the gods" is a meaning for it literally accurate as well as fairly expressive, at least to Indian readers.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

11 *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series*, p. 40.

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Pre-Buddhistic Rajgir

Rājagṛha, vulgo made it Rajgir, has immemorial traditions behind it. The wind which every day bellows through the gorge made between the Vaibhāra and Vipula, seems to pass through the empty corridors of dead memories, which mute stones, the silent spectators to the most gorgeous pageantries of Indian history, have no means to testify. Countless centuries ago, kingdoms and empires had raised themselves over its dust hoary with age, to disappear into eternity, leaving no trace behind, which we their descendants, would give so much to resurrect. It raises its head, from a misty unknown past, when primitive man first inhabited the secluded valley, girt by five picturesque hills; and oriental mysticism gave it a sacred colour, which repeated conquests, mass conversion, pillage, loot and plunder, have never been able to snatch away from it. The animists, the Vedic-Brahminism, Jainism, Hinduism and Buddhism have all given it their stamp of approval. Its eternal hotsprings bubbling out its healing waters are gifts of mother earth to the suffering humanity. The later accretions have enveloped its principal charms, its primitive faith, arts, crafts and culture, in obscurity.

It had received dozens of names in different epochs of our national history. According to the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa,* (Kalpa lxii) and Jinaprabhā Surī's *Tīrthakalpa* (Vaibhāragiri-Kalpa, v. 4) its earlist name was Kuśāgrapura 'the city of the fragrant reed grass,' so sacred to modern Hindus, which survived till the time of Hiuen-Tsang.[1] Its another name was Girivraja, which is explained by the *Mahābhārata* and *Suttanipāta* as being situated within five hills.[2] The other names were Caṇakapūra, Ṛṣabhapura, Vasumatī, Bṛhadrathapura. The name Rājagaha of Pali and Rājagṛha of Sanskrit literature is explained as being the abode of mythical kings like Māndhātā etc., as well as the place having been used as a prison house of conquered kings, according to the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* by Buddhaghosa,[3] which is re-echoed by the tradition

1 *Yuan Chwang,* vol. ii, p. 149.

2 *Mbh. Sabhāparvan,* xxi. viii; *Suttanipāta,* vol. ii, p. 382; *Sāraṭṭhapakāsinī* vol. ii, p. 159.

3 Vol. i, p. 232.

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recorded in the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* (X. 7). Our first peep into the primitive religious condition of this ancient metropolis of eastern India is received from the *Mahābhārata,* where two Nāgas, Maṇi and Svastikā, are mentioned, testifying that worship of the serpents was a feature of the religious practices of the citizens of Rajgir. The worship of the Serpents, a non-Aryan ritual, was incorporated in later Brāhmaṇical pantheon, and became a widely prevalent practice in eastern India and middle country. Originally, the snake itself or its replicas in wood, stone, ivory; or modelled or moulded in clay were worshipped, to propitiate this wriggling death-god. Gradually, myths and legends grew around snakes and ultimately, they were given anthropomorphic form, the survival of which is to be found in Hindu 'Manasā' and later Buddhist 'Jāṅgulī'. A race of people called the Nāgas inhabited a populous area in the modern Basti district, whom a king of Kośala is said to have exterminated.[4] The identity of Rāmagrāma remains a moot point; but probably the extensive remains in the neighbourhood of Bhuila Dih in Basti represents the ruins of the city. Hiuen-Tsang tells us of a fable, that on visiting Rāmagrāma, he was told of *kinnaras,* wild animals worshipping the deserted *stūpa* containing Buddha's relics.[5] The story is indeed of ancient origin, as an architrave of buff sandstone of Chunar, found in the excavations of Sarnath, represent the worship of the relic *stūpa* at Rāmagrāma by an wild elephant, *kinnara* etc. That it was the *stūpa* erected by the Nāgas at Rāmagrāma is proved by the snakes carved on the body of the *stūpa*. The piece belongs to *circa* 1st century B.C. Since the story is found depicted in such an early fragment, it is evident that Hiuen Tsang's account (*c.* 600-664 A.D.) has an earlier origin.[6]

Snake-worship

The worship of snakes is even now prevalent in the peninsular India. In anthropomorphic form, it is worshipped in eastern Pakistan, West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, while a celebration called Nāga *Pañcamī* is held annually in U.P. A relief of Manasā of about *c.* 600 A.D. has

4 *DN.*, ii. 165; *Jāt.*, iv. 144; *Dhp. comm.* i. 344.

5 *Yuan Chwang,* vol. ii, p. 20.

6 D. R. Sahni, *Catalogue of Museum of Archæology,* Sarnath, p. 200, pl. xxiii.

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been found in the excavations at Sarnath. Maṇi Nāga, we learn from a verse in the *Mahābhārata* (2. xix. 9 ff.)[7] used to reside on one of the peaks surrounding Girivraja, and was worshipped in the Magadha country to induce rain in the draught years. The location of the ancient temple of Maṇi Nāga has been made easier by the finds made in the ruins of Maniyāra *maṭha,* more correctly written as Maṇivāra *maṭha* situated almost at the centre of the old city. The place was first excavated by Mr. A. M. Broadley then S.D.O., Bihar sub division.[8] Almost a decade later it was dug by the late Theodore Bloch, in the working season of 1905-06, when the whole Rajgir valley was surveyed by Sir John Marshall. Bloch found a deserted Jaina shrine, on the top of what had then formed into a conical mound. Dismantling it, he found traces of snake worship at the site as late as V.S. 1547 (1490-91 A.D.). The excavations at the lower levels revealed the existence of a structural complex, with a hollow tower as the *piece d'resistance.* The outer wall of the hollow *stūpa* was decorated with a series of stucco figurines, within niches, and the style recalled the perfect poise in calm repose, remarkable for balance, the characteristic features of the Gupta art at its climax and having analogy with the Benares school of sculptures. None of these figures by any stretch of imagination can be regarded as Buddhistic, but Brāhmaṇical; a fact, which is often lost sight of, in hasty generalisations about the religious character of the site.[9]

Till Gupta times therefore, there are enough evidences to believe that the hollow circular *stūpa* at Maṇivāra *maṭha,* in Rajgir, was connected with snake worship, a primitive belief of the earliest inhabitants of Rajgir, inspite of ceaseless assaults by Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism. Brāhmaṇical and Jaina ritual, as evident from Śālibhadra *caraṇa* had adopted this alien cult into their pantheon. The cult of the *stūpas* was not original to Buddhism. In *Mahā-parinibbāna-sutta* Gautama gives good ground for believing that in his time such monuments were raised over the mortal remains of *rāja-cakravartins.* The Buddhists added to it a new scope by making it a commemorative structure. The Jainas too erected *stūpas,* as

7 I am indebted for this reference to Mr. M. V. Vaidya of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. According to him Adi. 1. xxxi. also mention Maṇi Nāga.

8 A. M. Broadley, *The Antiquities of Bihar, in Patna,* Calcutta, 1872. p. 20.

9 *ARASI.,* 1905-06, p 104, plates xxxix-xl.

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is evident from the *disjecta membra* found in the Kankali Tila, at Mathura. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to *tumulis* or mounds of earth raised by members of the Brāhmaṇical faith.[10] It is rational therefore to conclude that the hollow *stūpa* decorated with beautiful stucco sculptures, within the amphitheatre of Girivraja, was neither a Buddhist *stūpa* nor a Hindu phallus, but represented the temple of Maṇi Nāga which vulgo had transformed from Maṇivāra *maṭha* to Maniyāra *maṭha*.[11] Later tradition converted the hollow *stūpa* into an well, in which were hidden the wealth of a mythical king. Maṇi Nāga the rain inducing divinity of primitive Rajgir was transformed into Manikāra, the fictitious treasurer of a mythical hoard of treasure, deposited by an imaginary king, which still survives in popular memory to our day, and enthusiastic subordinates of our department some time point to the Son-Bhandar Cave, dedicated and utilised by the Jains, and decorated with the figures of their *tīrthaṅkaras* as the alleged treasure house.

Further excavations at this place in 1935-36, yielded valuable materials. The spade this time was carried to a depth of 12′ below the circular structure. This year's work established that the hollow *stūpa* was erected in Gupta times on two earlier buildings which had no intervening layers of debris between them. The lowest structure has been assigned to the century preceding the birth of Christ, in view of the size of bricks found in the building. But my studies carried out at the instance of Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, and painstaking investigation carried out by Mr. A. Ghosh, at Arikamedu, a place in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, have established that the size of bricks is no sure criterion for their antiquity.[12] According to the excavator, a large assortment of pottery was found in this enclosure. Most of these were spouted. One specimen contained about thirty four spouts, in shape of snake hoods, sieves, etc.[13] In another type of vessel, lamps were fixed. All the pottery was hand made, but dabbers were used. The other finds of clay, make the character of the site, as well as the ritual connected with it, very clear,

10 *Śat. Brāh. S.B.E.*, vol. xli pp. 423-24.

11 A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Rajgir*, p. 16. An inscribed image of Maṇināga with a companion who is probably Svastikā Nāga has been found at Maṇivāra *maṭha*.

12 *Ancient India*, No. 2, pp. 18-124.

13 *ARASI.*, 1935-36, plate xvi, (d).

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being hoods of snake, etc. The utility of the offertory vessels was correctly interpreted by Mr. G. C. Chandra; "vessels with multiple channels simulating showers were used by the distressed people of Rajgir. praying for rain."[14]

Cult of Yakṣas

The cult of the *yakṣas* was an important trait of the culture of Rajgir people in early times. This belief is inherent in Pre-Aryan customs, for whom the Brāhmaṇical religion made place of an inferior order. The late Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, late Raibahadur R. Chanda and Dr. V. S. Agrawall have studied the question thoroughly. The large colossai, remarkable for volume and mass, found at Patna (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta), Besnagar, Mathura, Gwalior etc. amply testify to the popularity of this cult throughout eastern India and Brahmāvartta.[15] At Rajgir, the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* tells us, there was a *yakṣa* named Sivaka or Sivāka who was the guardian of Sītavana,often mentioned in the Buddhist religious literature. He was alleged to have been endowed with supernatural powers and was capable of producing supernatural phenomena.[16] Indaka or Indraka was another *yakṣa* who dwelt on a peak called Indrakūṭa.[17] Sakka or Śakra was a *yakṣa* of Gṛdhakuṭa hill.[18] The Vipula mountain was the dwelling place of another powerful *yakṣa* named Kumbhīra or Gambhīra.[19]

Customs of the Dead

The name of Sītavana is very familiar to the students of Indian history. But it has seldom been realised that it possessed a unique character. The Siamese edition of the *Sāraṭṭhapakāsinī* as pointed out by Dr. B. C. Law, makes it *susāsanavana,* or the grove, which was utilised to throw human bodies after death, to undergo natural processes of decomposition, decay and to be eaten up by worms, dogs, birds, and other animals. The custom of cremation is indeed very ancient in India, but Harappa has supplied us two cemetries establishing the custom of burial in chalcolithic India. But the practice of the ancient people of Rajgir has no parallel except with the Zoroastrians of Iran, which is even now

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 52-54.
15 *Yakṣa,* in the Bulletins of the Smithsonian Institute.
16 Vol. iii, p. 17.
17 *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 206.
18 *Ibid.*
19 *Digha Nikāya,* vol. ii, p. 257.

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observed by the Parsis in modern India. This important trait of the culture of Magadha before the rise of Buddhism has seldom been appreciated. Sītavana is mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, as pointed out by Principal D. N. Sen[20] But for precise location we are indebted to Dr. B. C. Law. It was situated near the north face of the Vaibhāra hill beyond Venuvana. Its location therefore must be beyond Jarasandhkā-Baiṭhak near the modern village.[21]

In my paper on 'Non Buddhistic Elements in Buddhism',[22] I had occasion to point out the absorption of early beliefs and cults, or places and objects, venerated in folk traditions, by the Buddhists. Gautama preached in the language of the people, which was *ardha-māgadhi Prakrit* and not Pali. He probably had a far greater knowledge of the mass psychology, than we credit him with. This mass of ancient Magadha was heterogeneous in racial composition. Magadha, according to tradition, had its name, from one of the five sons of *asūra* queen Sudeṣṇā, by the alleged Aryan sage Dīrghatamas, acccording to the *Kṣetraja* custom. Gautama seeks at Gaya, a tree to whose benevolent spirit, Sujātā, the daughter of the *grāma-mukhyā* of Uruvelā, had prayed the previous year for a child. Gautama goes to Mṛgadāva leaving Benares, the stronghold of Brahminism, Jainism and finds a protected 'Deer Park', where Deers might have been sacred like the peacocks on the banks of Sumagadhā, at Rajgīr, near Gṛdhrakūṭa. The city of Rajgir he adored, with its ancient lore and primitive beliefs.

Tree Worship

Trees formed, and still continues to be the greatest object of veneration with the Indian masses. Its antiquity, after the discovery of the Harappa culture, is undoubted, as well as the custom of encircling trees or sacred objects with railings etc. In Magadha the most sacred trees were *Pippala* and *Nyāgrodhas*. The most well known of these at Rajgir was the *Gotama-nyāgrodha* (*ramanīyo Gotamo-nyāgrodha*).[23] The second class of evidence is furnished by several references to *caityas*. Of late this term has often been misinterpreted. At Nalanda excavations, *vihāra* sites are generally designated *caitya* sites, by people claiming special

20 *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 2. 21 *MASI.*, no. 58, pp. 10-11.
22 This is to appear in *New Indian Antiquary*.
23 *DN.*, vol. ii, pp. 116-17.

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knowledge of Indian art and architecture. A *caitya* implies and will always imply a place of tree worship. It was in almost all cases, and exceptions proved the rule, a roofless structure or a railing surrounding a tree. Such temples are often found depicted at Barhut, Sañci and Bodh Gaya. *Caitya-vṛkṣas* are referred to in the Epics; and Hopkins has defined them as places of tree worship.[24] The belief in the existence of beneficent and evil divinities or spirits residing in certain trees was widely prevalent since chalcolithic times, as the Mohenjodaro and Harappa seals have proved. The *Jātakas* which depict the social, religious and political life of India, of at least *c.* 600 B.C., give us a good deal of information. Referring to Guṇaśilā-caitya, Hemacandra Surī tells us that it was *caitya vṛkṣopaśobhitam*.[25] *Bahuputta-caitya* was another sylvan divinity about whom details are lacking. Another place of this kind, was *Nyāgrodhārāma*. An *ārāma* in Pali literature implies an abode. Thus the abodes of monks were known as *saṅghārāmas*.

Another famous place of tree worship was the Guṇaśilā-*caitya*.[26] It was at this place that Mahāvīra, the 24th *tīrthaṅkara*, resided several seasons while at Rajgir.

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24 E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 6-8.

25 *Tri-ṣaṣṭhi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra*, x. 6363.

26 The whole question has been discussed in my paper 'The Jaina Antiquities of Rajgir.'

27 Most of these references I owe to the late Prof. Dhammananda Kosambi, when I resided at Sarnath. Some of these have also been discussed by Dr. B. C. Law, in the *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, no. 58.

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Niruktavārttika—a lost Treatise

It is much to be regretted that the anonymous work *Niruktavārttika*, quotations from which so frequently occur in the commentaries of Durga and Skandasvāmin, is not extant. From the nature of the citations it is evident that it was a critical exposition (*vārttika*) of the *Nirukta* dealing with all the important problems of the text as well as a running commentary on it. Durga cites verses from this work with great deference, and it is quite apparent that the work was held as an authority in his days on all obscure topics relating to etymology. The discovery of the work would, no doubt, greatly facilitate the study of the *Nirukta*, which is so very abstruse, by throwing light on the history of etymological inquiries and on the proper construction and interpretation of Yāska's text. We propose to discuss here all the available materials bearing on this important treatise.

(i) Durga in his commentary on *Nir.* I. 1 quotes the *Vārttika* in approval of the view that a substantive might be derived from as many roots as might bear resemblance—both in sound and in meaning, to it. Thus the term *nighaṇṭu* has been derived by Yāska in so many different ways—viz. from *ni-√han*, *ni-√gam*, *ni-√hṛ* etc. inasmuch as all these roots can be shown to have some or other affinity with the resultant vocable. We cite below the relevant portion from Durga's commentary: —

एवमेष निघण्टुशब्दो गमेर्वा एकोपसर्गाद् हन्ति-हरतिभ्यां वा द्व्युपसर्गाभ्यां निरुक्तः। आह—किमयं पुनरतिमहान् यत्र एकस्मिन् अभिधाने अनेकधात्वर्थनिर्वचनकृत इति? उच्यते—इह तावत् सर्वाणि आख्यातजानि नामानीति सिद्धान्तः। सति आख्यातजत्वे अभिधेयस्था या क्रिया लक्ष्यते तदभिधानसमर्थे परोक्षवृत्तौ वा तदभिधायिनि रूढिशब्दे वा धातुरुत्प्रेक्ष्यते। स च पुनः स्वर-वर्ण-क्रियासामान्येन। तत्रैवं सति रूढिशब्दे यावन्तो धातवः स्वलिङ्गं रूढिगतं दर्शयन्ति तावतः संगृह्य स रूढिशब्दो निर्वाच्यः। किं कारणम्? विशेषलक्षणव्यवस्थाऽभावात्। न हि तत्र विशेषलक्षणव्यवस्था काचिदस्ति यया एकोऽवतिष्ठेत, अन्ये व्यावर्त्तेरन्। अपि चोक्तं वार्त्तिककारेण—

"यावतामेव धातूनां लिङ्गं रूढिगतं भवेत्।
अर्थश्चाप्यभिधेयस्थ-स्तावद्भि-र्गुणविग्रहः॥"—इति।

(ii) The following verse, cited by Durga under *Nir.* I. 9, seems to belong to that work though there is no specific mention to that effect. Durga states: —

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"व्यत्ययं चाधिकृत्य श्लोकमप्युदाहरन्ति—

"आदिमध्यान्तलुप्तानि प्रच्छन्नापिहितानि च ।
ब्रह्मणः परिगुप्त्यर्थं वेदे व्यवहितानि च ॥"—इति ।

(iii) The following verse too appears to have been taken from the *Niruktavārttika* : —

उक्तं हि— "यश्चान्यायेन निर्ब्रूयाद् यश्चान्यायेन पृच्छति ।
तयोरन्यतरो मृत्युं विद्वेषं चाधिगच्छति ॥"—इति ।

though it is a slight variation (cited by Durga under *Nir.* II. 3) of *Manu* II. 111, which reads as : —

"अधर्मेण च यः प्राह यश्चाधर्मेण पृच्छति ।
तयोरन्यतरः प्रैति विद्वेषं वाधिगच्छति ॥"

(iv) "नैघण्टुकांस्तु याञ्छतव्दान् प्रत्यर्थं गणशः स्थितान् ।
छन्दोभ्योऽन्विष्य तत्तार्थान् निर्ब्रूयाद् योगतस्तु तान् ॥"

The above verse appears in Durga's commentary on *Nir.* II. 9. It is probable that the verse is a citation from the *Niruktavārttika*, though it is not decisive, since no such phrase as *uktaṃ ca* or *taduktaṃ Vārttikakāreṇa* has been used to introduce it.

(v) The following quotation too cannot be traced to any definite source : —

षड्विधो हि धातुः—

"प्रकृत्यन्तः सनन्तश्च यङन्तो यङ्लुगेव च ।
ण्यन्तो ण्यन्तसनन्तश्च षड्विधो धातुरुच्यते ॥"—Durga on *Nir.* II. 28.

(vi) Durga in his commentary on *Nir.* IV. 1 cites a verse without mentioning its source. But the form and content of the verse point to the lost *Vārttika* as its probable source. We quote below the following excerpt from Durga's commentary in which it occurs : —

"एकार्थमनेकशब्दमित्येतदुक्तम् । किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? नहि यद् यद् वृत्तं तत्तद् वक्तव्यम् इदं वृत्तमिदं वर्त्तिष्यत इति । यद् यद् वृत्तं तत्तद् अनुक्तमपि प्रतीयते, यच्च वक्ष्यमाणम् इति । आह—संक्षेपतो निगमनाय यदुक्तम्, यद् वा वक्तव्यं प्रतिजानीथ समासविस्ताराभ्यां हि सुखम् अवस्त्यं प्रकरणमवधारयिष्यामहे, गृहीतार्थं संक्षेपाच्च विस्तरेण उत्तरग्रन्थमुच्यमानं सुखमवभोत्स्यामहे । अपि चोक्तमन्यत्रापि—

'विस्तीर्य्य हि महज् ज्ञानमृषिः संक्षेपतोऽब्रवीत् ।
इत्थं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासधारणम् ॥'

शृणु—समासतो यदुक्तं यच्च वक्तव्यम् । एकार्थमनेकशब्दमित्येतत् पुरस्तात् सूचितम्—'एतावन्तः शब्दकर्माणो धातवः, एतावन्ति अस्य सत्त्वस्य नामधेयानि'—इत्यनेन वाक्येन । यदेतत् 'गौरिति पृथिव्या नामधेयानि' इत्यत आरभ्य नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानां प्रपञ्चनं च तत्त्व-भेद-पर्य्याय-संख्या-सन्दिग्धोदाहरण-तन्निर्वचन-व्याख्याप्रविभागेन उक्तं स एव नैघण्टुकस्य प्रकरणस्य निगमनव्याजेन सर्वथाऽप्यर्थः संक्षेपत उक्तः शास्त्रसंबन्धश्च एवमनुसृतो भविष्यति

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प्रकरणद्वयस्य चैवमपुनरुक्तता प्रदर्शिता भविष्यति-इत्यनेनाभिप्रायेण 'एकार्थमनेकशब्द'-मित्युक्तम् ॥"

(vii) As to the procedure adopted by the author of the *Nirukta* in explaining the vocable occurring in the *Naigama-Kāṇḍa* of the *Nighaṇṭu*, the author of the *Vārttika* states: —

"किंलक्षणा पुनरिह व्याख्या इति? तदुच्यते—
तत्त्वं पर्य्यायशब्देन व्युत्पत्तिश्च द्वयोरपि।
निगमो निर्णयश्चेति व्याख्येयं नैगमे पदे ॥"

—Cited by Durga under *Nir.* IV. i.[1]

(viii) The verses quoted in the following portion of Durga's commentary also seem to have been taken from the *Niruktavārttika*: —

"एवमेष शितामशब्दोऽनवगताभिधेयोऽनवगतसंस्कारोऽपि। एवमेतस्मिन् प्रकरणे अन्यानि अनवगतसंस्काराणि उपेक्षितव्यानि। उक्तं हि—

'शब्दरूपं पदार्थश्च व्युत्पत्तिः प्रकृतिर्गुणः।
सर्वमेतदनेकार्थे दशानवगमे गुणाः ॥'—इति।[2]

कतमे पुनस्ते इति। पदजात्यभिधेय-स्वर-संस्कार-गुण-विभाग-क्रम-विक्षेपा-ध्याहार-व्यवधानानि। तेषु च अभिधेयमपेक्ष्य निर्वचनं कर्त्तव्यम्। उक्तं हि—

'धातूपसर्गावयवगुणसत्त्वं हि धातुजम्।
बह्वेकधातुजं वापि पदं निर्वाच्यलक्षणम् ॥
धातुजं धातुजाज्जातं समर्थार्थजमेव च।
वाक्यजं व्यतिकीर्णं च निर्वाच्यं पञ्चधा पदम् ॥'—इति।

(a) पदजात्यनवगतं त्व-इति यथा नाम निपातो वा।
(b) अभिधेयानवगतं शिताम इति यथा।
(c) स्वरानवगतं वने न वायो इति यथा।
(d) संस्कारानवगतं ईर्मान्तास इति यथा।
(e) गुणानवगतं करूडतीति यथा।
(f) विभागानवगतं मेहना इति यथा।
(g) क्रमानवगतम् उपरमध्वं मे वचसे इति यथा।
(h) विक्षेपानवगतं द्यावा नः पृथिवी इति यथा।
(i) अध्याहारानवगतं दानमनसो न मनुष्यानिति यथा।

1 The citation is most probably from the *Niruktavārttika* though Durga does not explicitly states it as such.

2 This verse is found in the *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka. Cf. *BD*. II. 108. But the two subsequent verses are not found therein. Thus it would not be sound to argue that the quotations are from the *Bṛhaddevatā*. Durga most probably cited all the three verses from the self-same work—viz. the *Niruktavārttika*. As to the question of correspondence between these two works vide *supra*.

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(j) व्यवधानानवगतं वायुश्च नियुत्वानिति यथा ।

(k) एकमपि पदं पदद्वितयं क्रियते—पूरुषादः पुरुषान् अदनाय इति यथा । पदद्वितयम् चैकं पदं क्रियते गर्भनिधानीं सनितु-रिति यथा । आख्यातमपि च नाम क्रियते सर्वाणीन्द्रस्य धनानि विभक्ष्यमाण इति यथा ।[3]

(ix) Another quotation from the *Niruktavārttika* occurs in Durga's commentary on *Nir.* VI. 31, and Durga explicitly states that it is a citation from the *Vārttika* : —

"इदंयुः—इत्यनवगतमनेकार्थं च । इदमिति यत्किञ्चिद् अभिप्रेतं निर्दिश्यते, तद् यः कामयते स इदंयु-रित्युच्यते । यु-रित्येषशब्दोऽप्रसिद्धः कामयतेरर्थे ; तेन अनवगत-मेतत् 'नानाधियो वसूयवः' (ऋ. सं. ६.११२.३) इत्यनेन गतार्थं मन्यमानो भाष्यकारो निगमं न ब्रवीति । वार्त्तिककारेणाप्युक्तम्—

'निगमवशाद् वद्वर्थं भवति पदं तद्धितन्तथा धातुः ।
उपसर्गगुणनिपाता मन्त्रगताः सर्वथा लक्ष्याः ॥'—इति ।"

(x) The following verse cannot be traced to any definite source. It might have plausibly occurred in the lost *Vārttika* :—

"नानावस्थादर्शनवदाख्यातॄणां परिदेवननिन्दादिष्वपि चेन्द्रादीनां कामकारत-स्तद्रूपम-वस्थितानां सा सा स्तुतिरेव न निन्दा । उक्तं च—

'हीना न निन्दा स्तुतिरेव साऽऽग्रया देवान् मर्त्यः सम्यगभिष्टुयात् कः ।
शक्तिक्षयेऽप्यध्यवस्यन्ति शिष्टाः स्तोतुं न पश्यन्ति गतिं यतोऽन्याम् ॥'—इति ।

(xi) Durga cites another verse from the *Vārttika* under *Nir.* VIII. 4 in order to show that Śākapūṇi, the renowned etymologist, gave arguments in his lost treatise in favour of the order followed in the *Nighaṇṭu* texts regarding the compilation of the vocables. Compare: —

"अथात आप्रियः । आप्रिय इध्मादीनि आप्रीषु निर्वक्तव्यानि । तानि पुनरमूनि प्रैषिके आप्रीसूक्ते पाठक्रमनियमाद् विवक्षितक्रमाणीति देवतापदसमाम्नायेऽपि गृह्यमाणत्वात्

3 Compare with the above extract from Durga *Bṛhaddevatā* II. 111 ff.:

"पदमेकं समादाय द्विधा कृत्वा निरुक्तवान् ।
पुरुषादः पदं यस्को वृक्षे वृक्ष इति त्वृचि ॥
अनेकं सत् तथा चन्येदेकमेव निरुक्तवान् ।
अरुणो मासकृन्मन्त्रे मासकृद्विग्रहेण तु ॥
पदव्यवायेऽपि पदे एकीकृत्य निरुक्तवान् ।
गर्भं निधानमित्येते न जामय इति त्वृचि ॥
पदजातिरविज्ञाता त्वः-पदेऽर्थः शितामनि ।
स्वरानवगमोऽधायि वने नेत्यृचि दर्शितः ॥
शुनःशेपं नराशंसं द्यावा नः पृथिवीति च ।
निरस्कृतेतिप्रभृतिष्वर्थादासीत् क्रमो यथा ॥'"

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पाठक्रमप्रयोजनस्य विवक्षितक्रमाण्येव। तत्रैतद् भवति। इमानि अग्नि-जातवेदो-वैश्वानर-प्रभृतीनि किं विवक्षितक्रमाणि उत युगपद् अभिधानासम्भवाद् अर्थत एषां क्रम इति।

"तत्र विवक्षितक्रमाणीति केचित्। कथमिति। इह तावत् स्थानानि भू-भुव-स्वरिति पाठानुपूर्व्यैव नियतानीति तत्स्थानामपि अग्न्यादीनां स एव क्रमो गृह्यते। स गृह्यमाणो न न्याय्य उत्सृष्टुम् इति। अपिच—सति क्रमप्रयोजने अग्निः पृथिवीस्थानो यस्माद् अतस्तं प्रथमं व्याख्यास्याम इति हेतुवचनमुपपद्यते। उत्तरत्र च 'तेषाम् इध्मः प्रथमागामी भवतीति', 'तेषाम् अश्वः प्रथमागामी भवतीति' 'तेषां रथः प्रथमागामी भवतीति', तत्र तत्र 'प्रथमागामी भवतीति' वचनं यथाप्रधानम् अभिधानं पूर्वं समाम्नातम् इत्यस्य न्यायस्य उपप्रदर्शनार्थम् इति लक्ष्यते। इतरथाहि अविवक्षितक्रमेषु प्रथमागामिवचनमकृत्वैव यत्किञ्चिद् पदमुपादध्यात्। तदेतत् पृथिवीस्थाने सर्वत्र क्रमप्रयोजनमुच्यते। पार्थिवस्य ज्योतिषो यथा अग्निशब्देन प्रसिद्धतमः सम्बन्धः, न तथा जातवेदःशब्देन, यथा जातवेदःशब्देन न तथा वैश्वानरशब्देन, यथा च वैश्वानरशब्देन न तथा द्रविणोदःशब्देन। तान्येतानि युगपद् विप्रकर्षात् प्रसिद्धिविप्रकर्षाच्च अग्निशब्दाद् विप्रकृष्यन्ते। इध्मादीनां तु व्यवधानेन अग्न्यभिधानम् इत्यतितरां विप्रकर्षः।

"अश्वप्रभृतयस्तु स्थानमात्रमग्ने-र्भजन्त इति इध्मप्रभृतिभ्योऽपि विप्रकृष्यन्ते। तेषामपि च उदितप्राणवृत्तयोऽश्व-शकुनि-मण्डूक्य इति प्रथमम्। अनुदितप्राणवृत्तयस्तु अन्नादय-स्ते पश्चाद् आ द्वन्द्वेभ्यः। इत्येवं सर्वत्र क्रमप्रयोजनमुपेक्ष्यम्।

"शाकपूणिस्तु पृथिवीनामभ्य एव उपक्रम्य स्वयमेव सर्वत्र क्रमप्रयोजनमाह। तदुक्तम् वार्त्तिककारेण—

'क्रमप्रयोजनं नाम्नां शाकपूणयुपलक्षितम्।
प्रकल्पयेदन्यदपि न प्रज्ञामवसादयेत्॥'—इति।

(xii) The verse occurring in the following extract from Durga's commentary is most probably taken from the *Vārttika*, though not explicitly stated as such:—

"यज्ञसंयोगाद् राजा स्तुतिं लभेत।.....राजसंयोगाद् युद्धोपकरणानि।..... स एष व्यापी स्तुतिसंक्रमन्याय आचार्येण उपदर्शितः। तद् यथा युद्धोपकरणानि राजसंयोगात् स्तुतिं लभन्ते। तस्य तान्यज्ञानीति सम्बन्धात् स्तूयन्ते। राजापि यज्ञसंयोगात्, यज्ञोऽपि देवतासम्बन्धात्, देवता अपि आत्मसम्बन्धात्। सोऽयमात्मैव अङ्गप्रत्यङ्गभावेनावस्थितः सर्वावस्थातः स्तूयते—इत्यात्मस्तुतिरेवेयं सर्वा। तदुक्तम्—

'स्थाने स्थाने स्तुतिः सर्वा स्थानाधिपतिभागिनो।
आत्मप्रतिष्ठा बोद्धव्या तथोपकरणस्तुतिः॥'—इति।

एष स्तुतिसंक्रमन्यायः सर्वत्र उपसन्धेयः॥"

(xiii) The following citation too cannot be traced:—

"तदुक्तम्—

'वान्ति पर्णशुषो वातास्ततः पर्णमुचोऽपरे।
ततः पर्णरुहो वान्ति ततो देवः प्रवर्षति॥'—इति॥"

—Cited by Durga on *Nir.* X. 1.

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(xiv) The last citation from the *Vārttika* is found in Durga's commentary on *Nir.* XI. 13. Compare:

"अथातो मध्यस्थाना देवगणाः ।...तेषां मरुतः प्रथमागामिनो भवन्ति ।

"कस्मात् ? वायुरेव दि भेदेन अपेक्ष्यमाणो मरुदभिधानो बहुवचनभाग् भवति । तेषां प्राथम्यं वायुना व्याख्यातम् । एतावांस्तु विशेषः । बहुसाध्ये कर्मणि बहुधा मध्यमो भवति । पृथक्त्वेन च विज्ञाता मरुतः शुक्रज्योतिश्च चित्रज्योतिश्च इत्येवमादयः सप्तसप्तका देवगणा मारुतेषु गणेषु सप्तकपालेषु । अग्नौ पुराणे चैत एव प्रसिद्धाः सप्तधा वायुविचारिणः मारीचात् काश्यपात् आदित्यं ये जज्ञिरे । नैरुक्तसमयस्तु सर्व एव गणा मरुतः । उक्तं च वार्त्तिके—

'मध्यमा वाक् स्त्रियः सर्वाः पुमान् सर्वश्च मध्यमः ।
गणाश्च सर्वे मरुतो गणभेदाः पृथक्कृतेः ॥'—इति ॥"

Professor Rajawade states in his edition of the *Nirukta* (*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*) that the *Vārttika* cited by Durga is identical with the *Bṛhaddevatā* of Śaunaka. The ground for this assertion is that some citations of the *Vārttika* correspond exactly with the *Bṛhaddevatā* verses. That some verses attributed to the *Vārttika-kāra* are not to be found in the present *Bṛhaddevatā* can be explained on the hypothesis that Durga had access to a different recension of the *Bṛhaddevatā* which contained some additional verses and was apparently larger than the extant text. We record below the following statement of Professor Rajawade: —

(i) अयं श्लोको बृहद्देवतायां नोपलभ्यते । बृहद्देवताकारात् नान्यो वार्त्तिककारः ।
(ii) अयं श्लोकोऽधुनोपलब्ध-बृहद्देवतायां न विद्यते ।
(iii) दुर्गकाले बृहद्देवताग्रन्थे भिन्नाः पाठा आसन् । अधिकाश्च श्लोकाः । च-ट-पुस्तकयोः—

"सर्वा स्त्री मध्यमस्थाना पुमान् वायुश्च मध्यमः ।
गणाश्च सर्वे मरुत इति वृद्धानुशासनम् ॥"

—इति पाठान्तरं प्रान्ते दीयते ।

But all these arguments of Professor Rajawade cannot stand in view of the fact that verses are quoted in a commentary called *Gopālikā* on the *Sphoṭasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamiśra, the great Mīmāmsist teacher which are all ascribed to the author of the *Niruktavārttika*, none of them being traceable to the extant *Bṛhaddevatā*. We quote here the following extract[4] from the commentary *Gopālikā* for reference: —

4 Noticed by Professor Bhagavaddatta in his *Vaidika Vāṅmayakā Itihāsa*, vol. I., Part II. p. 215.

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"यथोक्तं निरुक्तवार्त्तिक एव—

'असाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्यस्ते परेभ्यो यथाविधि ।
उपदेशेन सम्प्रादुर्मन्त्रान् ब्राह्मणमेव च ॥'

उपदेशश्च वेदव्याख्या । यथोक्तम्—

'अर्थोऽयमस्य मन्त्रस्य ब्राह्मणस्यायमित्यपि ।
व्याख्यैवाखोपदेशः स्याद् वेदार्थस्य विवक्षितः ॥'—इति ।

उपदेशाय ग्लायन्त इति । उपदेशेन ग्राहयितुमशक्या इत्यर्थः । अपरे द्वितीयेभ्यो न्यूना इत्यर्थः । बिल्मग्रहणाय उपायतो वशीकरणाय । इमं ग्रन्थं वक्ष्यमाणं समाम्नातवन्तः । तमेवाह वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि चेति । अङ्गशब्दः उपाङ्गादेरपि उपलक्षणार्थः । वेदमुपदेशमात्राद् ग्रहीतुमशक्ता अङ्गानि च समाम्नासिषुरिति । यथोक्तम्—

'अशक्तास्तूपदेशेन ग्रहीतुमपरे तथा ।
वेदमभ्यस्तवन्तस्ते वेदाङ्गानि च यत्नतः ॥'—इति ।

बिल्मशब्दो हि अनन्तरमेव तत्र निरुक्तम्—बिल्मं भिल्मं भासनमिति । व्याख्यातं च—

'बिल्मं भिल्ममिति त्वाह बिभर्त्त्यर्थविवक्षया ।
उपायो हि बिभर्त्त्यर्थमुपेयं वेदगोचरम् ॥
अथवा भासनं बिल्मं भासते-र्दीप्तिकर्मणः ।
अभ्यासेन हि वेदार्थो भास्यते दीप्यते स्फुटम् ॥

यथोक्तम्—

'प्रथमाः प्रतिभानेन द्वितीयास्तूपदेशतः ।
अभ्यासेन तृतीयास्तु वेदार्थान् प्रतिपेदिरे ॥"

All these six verses are evidently taken from the *Niruktavārttika* and taken together they constitute an exposition of *Nir.* I. 20 which reads: —

"साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः । तेऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान् सम्प्रादुः । उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे बिल्मग्रहणाय इमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुः वेदं च वेदाङ्गानि च । बिल्मं भिल्मं भासनमिति वा ।"

From the evidences noticed above it is quite obvious that the lost *Vārttika* was a highly valuable treatise, being at the same time an elaborate commentary as well as a *critique* on Yāska's text, thus truly satisfying the traditional definition of a *Vārttika*—viz. "*uktānuktaduruktacintā Vārttikam*".

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA

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A further note on the Indian Proto-type of the Javanese Kūṭa-mantra

In a note contributed to the *I.H.Q.*, (June, 1948, pp. 142-47) I discussed the problem concerning the origin of the *Kūṭa-mantra* used in the island of Bali (where the old Javanese Hinduism still survives) in connection with *Sūryā-sevana* or the worship of the Sun god. The *mantra* runs as follows:[1]

"ओम् ह्रां ह्रीं सः शिवसूर्य्यपरन्तेजखरूपाय नमः।"

or according to another reading:

"ओम् ह्रां ह्रीं सः परमशिवादित्याय नमः।"

The *mantra* seeks to identify *Siva* and *Sūrya*. In that note it was pointed out that the conception of the identity of *Sūrya* and *Śiva*, expressed in the said Javanese *Kūṭa-mantra*, had its parallel in some passages of the *Saura-Purāṇa* and at least in one passage of the *Brahma Purāṇa*. In the seventy-third chapter of the *Agni-Purāṇa*, there is a passage, which probably supplies us with the exact Indian proto-type of the above Javanese *mantra*. The chapter is entitled "सूर्यपूजाविधि" (Rules of Sun-worship), the last two verses of which run as follows:[2]

"शराणुना फड्न्तेन समाहृत्यानुसंहृतिम् ।
हृत्पद्मे शिवसूर्येति संहारिण्योपसंस्कृतिम् ॥
योजयेत्तेजश्चण्डाय रविनिर्माल्यमर्पयेत् ।
अभ्यर्चैशे जपाद्ध्यानाद्धीमात्सर्यं रवेर्भवेत् ॥"

The entire seventy-third chapter of the *Agni-Purāṇa* contains an elaborate description of the rituals of Sun-worship. The sixteenth verse definitely informs us that the worship of the Solar deity should be concluded by the recital of the "संहारिणी मन्त्र" which obviously is:

"हृत्पद्मे शिवसूर्याय नमः।"

It has no doubt been expressed in the verse in a somewhat cryptic form as is also the case with some other Tāntric spells mentioned in the same chapter of the same work.

There seems to be hardly any doubt that the *saṁhāriṇī-mantra* of the *Agni-Purāṇa* is the Indian proto-type of the Javanese *Kūṭa-mantra*. The latter is used in Javanese Hindu rituals on the occasion of *Sūryā-sevana* or Sun-worship. The above Purāṇic chapter also

1 R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa* Part II, p. 107.
2 *Agni-Purāṇa* 73. 16-17 (Bibliotheca Indica Ed. vol. I, pp. 210-11).

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deals exclusively with rituals of Sun-worship. We may also be fairly sure about the reading of the Purāṇic passages in question. Rājendra Lal Mitra who edited the *Agni-Purāṇa* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series fixed the reading of his text after consulting nine different manuscripts, and the texts of the Bangabasi edition as well as that of Sri Jibānanda Vidyāsāgar give also the same reading.[3] The entire seventy-third chapter of the *Agni-Purāṇa* again bears the indelible stamp of Tāntric influence and must have originated at a time when the Brāhmaṇical cults, including Sun-worship, had already come to be largely influenced by Tāntrism. In this connection it may be pointed out that the association of *Śiva* with the Sun god seems to have been a general feature of Tāntric Sun-worship. Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti has drawn my attention to the *Brihat-tantra-sāra* of the celebrated Krishnānanda Āgamavāgīśa. In the section on "सूर्य्यमन्त्र" in that work we came across such general invocations as, "ॐ ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मकाय सौराय योगपीठाय नमः।"[4] Passages like this indicate the general association of the three main gods of Purāṇic Hinduism with the Tāntric cult of the Sun. There is hardly any doubt however that Sun-worship in its Tāntric form laid particular emphasis on the identity of the Sun with *Śiva*. Most probably this attitude led to the development of the conception of the composite deity *Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava*, a combination of *Sūrya* and *Bhairava*, whose description as is well-known, finds a prominent place in the *Śāradātilaka-tantra*. The *Kālikā-Purāṇa* also refers to *Sūrya* as *Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava*, at least once.[5] It is interesting to note that a unique three headed and ten-armed image of this god with attributes like *Śakti, Khaṭvāṅga, Nīlotpala, and Ḍamaru*, has been actually discovered from Manda (Rājshahi), Bengal.[6] The clear identification of *Śiva* and *Sūrya*, to be found in the संहारिणी-मन्त्र of the *Agni-Purāṇa*, therefore, shows a spirit which is quite in keeping with the tradition of Tāntric Sun-worship. The Javanese *Kūṭa-mantra* is also of a definitely Tāntric character. Java was a great centre of Tāntrism and as Dr. R. C. Majumdar has pointed out,[7] "……Tāntrism which flourished

3 See for example, the Bangabasi Text pp. 143-44, and also Jibānanda Vidyāsāgar's ed. pp. 192-93.

4 *Brihat-tantra-sāra* (Basumati Ed.) p. 147.

5 *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, 74, 113 (Baṅgabāsi Ed. p. 475).

6 J. N. Banerjea in *History of Bengal* (Dacca University) vol. I, p 458; Plate XVI. 40.

7 *Suvarṇadvipa*, part II, p. 122.

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later in Eastern Java had already its beginning in the tenth century A.D. while the Pālas were yet ruling in Bengal." It is quite natural, in view of its extreme popularity in ancient Java, that Tantrism would influence the other current cults there, including the Solar cult. We have therefore no difficulty in recognizing in the संहारिणी मन्त्र of the *Agni Purāṇa*, the Indian proto-type of the Javanese *Kūṭa-mantra*.

In conclusion, I may add, that the above finding might possibly throw some light on the date of the composition of the *Agni Purāṇa* (or at least of that portion of it containing the seventy third chapter), if we could be sure about the date of the origin of the Javanese *mantra*. In my previous article, I expressed the view that the latter came into use, as early as the eighth century A.D. when "the Paurāṇik form of Brāhmaṇical religion" was "firmly established in Java."[8] If that conclusion is assumed to be correct, the present text of the *Agni Purāṇa*, must be supposed to have existed, at least in part, prior to that period. The suggestion however, is a tentative one, as the possibility, that the Javanese *mantra* is of later origin, can never be ruled out.

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

8 *Ibid*, p. 99.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery,
Vol. VI, Pt. I-II-(1948-49)

H. GOETZ:—*A Monument of Old Gujarati Wood Sculpture.* A richly carved Maṇḍapa with a number of decorative figures, statuettes and relief panels of Jaina designs which formed part of a private building in the last century, but whose dome and supporting architraves had been taken from an earlier temple is a recent acquisition of the Baroda Museum. The structure has been analysed and the history and chronology of its art discussed in the paper. Iconographic Notes have been added by U. P. Shah.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXV,
pts. I and II (1949).

SATYANARAYANA RAJAGURU.—*Two Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Early Gaṅga Kings of Kaliṅga.* Two sets of Sanskrit inscriptions recording land-grants have been published here. In the first case the grant was made by Udayakhedi, a chieftain under the Gaṅga king Devendravarman, son of Bhūpendravarman of Kaliṅga. In the second case a village was granted by Vajrahastadeva, another son of Bhūpendravarman. The importance of these documents lies in the fact that they suggest new data for determining the chronology of the early Gaṅga kings and supply evidence in regard to the use of their family era.

PRAHLAD PRADHAN.—*A Note on Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣya and its Author Sthiramati.* A manuscript of the *Bhāṣya* brought from Tibet has been described and the question as to whether Sthiramati was the writer or a compiler of the *Bhāṣya* discussed.

TARAPADA BHATTACHARYA.—*The Śuṅga Dynasty.* This is an attempt to find out the relations that possibly existed between the Śuṅga rulers of Magadha and the kings bearing the title of 'Mitra', whose coins have been discovered in different parts of northern India.

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S. V. SOHNI.—*The Location of Sigerdis*. A passage from Apollodorus quoted by Strabo, while speaking of Indo-Bactrian-Military activities, mentions the kingdom of Sigerdis as conquered by Demitrius. It is argued here that Sigerdis in the statement stands for Gedrosia i.e. Southern Beluchistan which once formed part of the Mauryan empire.

——o—*Khaṇḍika and Kaliṅga*. The contention of this note is that the geograghical identification of Khaṇḍika mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the Khaṇḍagiri in Kaliṅga has not been conclusively proved.

ADRIS BANERJI.—*Schism and Sarnath*. That the holy site of Sarnath witnessed the influence of different schools of Buddhism one after another is corroborated by the evidence of epigraphy and sculptures.

BUDDHA PRAKASH.—*A Study of the Word 'Brahman'*. The word 'Brahman' originally signified some magical power. The corresponding term 'baresman' in the *Avesta* first "meant a bundle of sacred twigs and later on, brass-rods, which were used as divining rods in ancient Babylonia and Assyria."

Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVII, pt. IV

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Vedic Studies*; IV. This instalment of the 'Studies' has initiated a discussion on the word *śuṣma* occurring at different places of the *Ṛgveda*.

B. CH. CHHABRA.—*A Note on Tumain Inscription*. This fragmentary stone inscription dated in the Gupta Era and referring to the reign of the Gupta ruler Kumāragupta I had been discovered at Tumain (Tumbavana) and edited long ago. The contents of the inscription have now been re-examined and a few of the previous presumptions corrected.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*God Puruṣottama at Puri and Cuttack*. There is evidence to suggest that god Puruṣottama-Viṣṇu was being worshipped at Purī before Coḍagaṅga's conquest of that region in the early 12th century. There existed also in the 13th century a temple of Jagannātha at Cuttack (Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka), the image therein being installed by the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III.

——o—*Gaṅga Arkeśvara of Orissa*. A copper-plate inscription discovered recently at Palsara in the Ganjam district records the

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grant of one-half of a village made by a king named Arkeśvara, son of Pramādi, grandson of Guṇārṇava described as a member of the Gaṅga family. The charter is dated in the Kaliṅga year 4348 (= 1247 A.C.). This Arkeśvara might have been ruling as a vassal of the imperial Gupta monarch Anaṅgabhīma III.

V. Raghavan.—*The Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.* Arguments are put forward to support the writer's previous assertion that the current *Yogavāsiṣṭha* cannot be a pre-Śaṅkara work, and should be placed between the 11th and the middle of the 13th century.

Balasubrahmanya Iyer.—*A Note on Nāsatyau and Dasrau.* The words Nāsatya and Dasra in their old Vedic applications meant separately each one of the pair known as Aśvinī devatās. In the *Śrīmadbhāgabata* also the words are used in their original connotations.

T.R. Venkatarama Sastri.—*Monkeys and Serpents in the Epics.* The Vānaras in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Nāgas, Uragas and Pannagas in both the epics are taken to be groups of men.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1950, parts, 1 & 2

Edward Conzee.—*Preliminary Note on a Prajñāpāramitā-Manuscript.* A palm-leaf manuscript of sixty-nine folios found in *Tun-Huang* had been taken by Hoernle to be fragments of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. According to the conclusion reached in this Note however, the manuscript 'represents a recension of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*' for the following reasons: the chapter division tallies with the Tibetan version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, the stereotyped passages are not so numerous as in the larger *Prajñāpāramitā* and the probable extent of the complete ms. can also be calculated to be shorter.

Sahitya Parisat Patrika (in Bengali), vol. 57, nos. 1-2

Chintaharan Chakravarti.—বাংলা ব্যাকরণ সম্বন্ধে কয়েকটি কথা (*A few words about Bengali Grammar*). The paper discusses the grammar of the Sanskritic element in Bengali vocabulary. It is pointed out that Sanskritic words found in the Bengali language do not always follow the rules of Sanskrit grammar and they have evolved their own characteristics and become immensely popular

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in uses which require to be properly studied and noted instead of being dubbed as incorrect.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.—বাংলা সাময়িক পত্র—৬ (*Bengali Periodicals—6*). It is a chronological account of periodicals published in Bengali during the period between April 1882 and April 1884.

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS.—ভারতীয় সূর্যপূজার একটি বৈশিষ্ট্য (*A characteristic feature of the Sun-worship in India*). The practice of regarding the sun as the healer of diseases was one of the features of Indian sun-worship in the Vedic age. The history of the development of this conception has been traced from the earliest times up to the 16th century of the Christian era with the help of literary and archaeological materials.

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

Vol. XXVI **September, 1950** **No. 3**

An Arabic Inscription from Gaur, Dist. Maldah, Bengal

The inscription under discussion is on a smooth basalt slab from Gaur measuring 3′ by 1′ 6″ and is now preserved in the Muslim Galleries of the Indian Museum. It was first noticed by H. Blochmann in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. XL, pt. i, pp. 256-7. The present study of the same was undertaken through the encouragement of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, and my thanks are due to him for the facilities he offered me for the purpose.

The inscription in 5 lines is in the *Ṭughrā* style of writing which reached its zenith during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal. The epigraphic text and the decorations are in a very good state of preservation, the Qur'ānic text appearing as if enshrined inside a mosque.[1]

The main text of the inscription is engraved in *basso-rilievo* (low relief) within an arch resembling very much the form of arches current in later Mughal and post-Mughal periods. This is typically a cusped or scalloped form of arch strictly so termed, the inner contour being produced by intersecting semi-circles, unlike the plain horse-shoe shaped arches which are typical of the early Mughal period. The surmounting capital over the arch has the design looking very much like a *tri-ratna* symbol, although perhaps shorn of its religious significance in the present context. In this connection we draw the attention of scholars to some of the *tri-ratna* symbols discovered at Mathurā and other ancient sites. Buddhist symbols gained considerable favour with the artists of Bengal in the Pāla period when Buddhism as a religion was flourishing in the land, and it is quite likely that

1 See plate I.

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such *tri-ratna* symbols or their later substitutions were a favourite motif equally with those entrusted with the execution of Muslim pieces of art. During the 11-12th centuries, in Brahmanic as well as Buddhist figures there developed a conventional form of showing the stalk of the lotus that formed the seat of the image. The central stalk together with a leaf decoration on each side was shown as a direct substitution of the trilateral form of the *tri-ratna*[2]. And the present floral capital, repeated at the base, bears a close affinity to that. In fact such floral designs were in abundance in the period. And art was never communal. A study of the motifs in some of the Muslim pieces of stone in relief from the same place goes to suggest, however, that it is a variation of the form of the *fleur-de-lis*. This is more apparent when studied with the *Haoma* or *Hōm* plant shown along with it. There is a number of such studies in the specimens preserved in the Indian Museum[3] where the *fleur-de-lis* forms as usual the surmounting capital of the scalloped arch while the *Haoma* is shown enshrined in an arch in relief. Of particular interest in this connection is a find[4] from Gaur made of smooth basalt. Here the *Haoma* takes the place of the epigraph, and full-blown rosettes encircled by rising tendrils on both sides take the place of the two 'Beautiful Names' (الاسماء الحسنى *Asmāal-Ḥusna*) of God *Yā Subbūḥ* and *Yā Quddūs* placed in the similar position in the inscription under discussion.

The arch rests on two sides on pilasters in relief with joints at intervals. The interspaces on the two sides of the arch as outlined by a rectangular border on the four sides of the entire composition are full of foliage decorations, two of the tendrils on the two sides encircling two of the 99 'Beautiful Names' of God viz., *Yā Quddūs* (O Holy one !) in the left and *Yā Subbūḥ* (O Praiseworthy one !) in the right. These two take the place of rosettes correspondingly in the find which shows the *Haoma*. The rosettes, it must be

2 Cf. The *tri-ratna* figure from Mathurā on a Lion Capital, also, pl. LX (b) -*La Sculpture de Mathurā*—J. Ph. Vogel. The later substitutions as suggested by trilateral lotus designs may be seen in the figures as they developed in the 5th-6th cents. (at Bhumara) and still later in the 10th-12th cents. A.D. in Bengal and North Bihar.

3 Exhibit Nos. Gr. 10, Gr. 15 etc.

4 Compare Exh. no. Gr. 15 of the Indian Museum. See J. Anderson's *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pt. II, p. 361.

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remembered, are transformations of the Persian aster intimately connected with solar association.[5] This is bordered by a leaf-and-tendril decoration forming the outer frame of the rectangle described above. The execution of the entire composition is beautifully done. The design of the Capital is repeated at the centre of the border decoration at the bottom.

The outer border referred to above contains three invocations to the Almighty, two being carved at the corner at the top and another at the centre. These three from left to right are in order: *Yā Buddūḥ* (يا بدوح), *Yā Fattāḥ* (يا فتّاح) and *Yā Allāh* (يا الله). In the list of the 99 Beautiful Names of God that are noticed in all prayer books of the Muslims as handed down through tradition and related by Ābu Hurairah, *Fattāḥ* (opener) is one. This name placed at the centre is significantly flanked by two words viz., the word *Allāh* to the right and the word *Buddūḥ* to the left. It is strange, however, that some scholars[6] regard the word *Buddūḥ* or *Budūḥ* as being one of the names of *Allāh*, although it is not so recorded in the tradition related by Ābu Hurairah.

The grouping of the five names or epithets here is significant. The number 5 is specially important, for we find that such grouping of 5 things or persons is not altogether foreign to Islamic religious thought. We may mention in this connection the Persian tradition current in the *shia* sect, of the *Panj-Tan-Pāk* (پنج تن پاک) which has reference to the Five Holy Bodies or Personages viz., *Muḥammad* (محمد) *'Alī* (علی), *Fāṭimah* (فاطمه), *Ḥasan* (حسن) and *Ḥusain* (حسین). The significance, if there was any, must have been one of auspicious invocation at the beginning of an undertaking or writing. In this connection we draw the attention of scholars to the practice of inscribing the word يا كبيكج (*Yā Kabīkaj*) on the fly-leaves of mss. Traditionally the word, which is generally repeated three times, originates from the name of an angel (مؤكل Muakkal) who is said to be the presiding spirit over insects. This protects the ms. against

5 *Edinburgh Review, 1886,* CLXIV, pp. 150 ff.

6 Von Hammer, *Journ. As.,* 1830, p. 72.

7 The word is spelt in the texts as *Buddūḥ* in analogy with *Quddūs* and *Subbūḥ,* although in the *Encyclopædia of Islām* it is given as *Budūḥ.*

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insects etc.[8] In fact, the word *Budūḥ*[9] can also be found used in the beginning of mss. just as an auspicious formula having more of a talismanic value than anything else. Thus the text of *Fatḥ ul-Djalīl*[10] begins with the word *Budūḥ* in order to ensure the auspiciousness of the undertaking of its composition or the performance of its recital. In the same way its use for ensuring safe arrival of letters and packages is also fairly known.[11] Nothing of this word is heard or known in the *Qur'ān*. The Classical lexicons of the Arabic language are conspicuously silent over any discussion of the word. In magical books of a later age specially those coming after the 12th Century A.D., we find mention of the word. In *Al-Fatḥ al-Raḥamāni* by Hadjdj Sa'dūn[12], the word is personified and addressed. A more popular use of the word is that in which *Budūḥ* has become a *Djinni* or spirit and his services are secured by writing his name either in letters or in numbers[13]. Doutte in his *Magie et religion* mentions the use of the word against menorrhagia, against pains in the stomach, against temporary insanity etc. It is also used to make oneself invisible. The use of the word is, therefore, both for good actions and bad. It is a mystic word used as a formula for achieving some ends as if by a miracle. The use of such formulæ are not altogether unknown in the *Qur'ān* itself and certain letters or groups of them appear at the beginning of some of the chapters of the *Qur'ān*, having apparently no significance of their own but only attaching by their combination and occurrence a peculiar mystic value to the texts concerned. E. M.

8 Vide *Tāj-i Sulaimāni* by Khanjan Shāh, pub. from Qayyum-i press, Cawnpore, p. 19. For a fuller discussion on this use, see *JASB.*, 1871, pt. i, p. 257 fn.

9 As spelt in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*. It seems this is the correct spelling and pronunciation of the word although it is also spelt as *Buddūḥ* perhaps in analogy with the words سَبُّوح and قُدُّوس which are generally associated with it.

10 *Fatḥ-ul-Djalīl*, Tunis, 1290, referred to in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, under *Budūḥ*.

11 A number of other virtues accruing from a recital of this talismanic word or from wearing seals or jewels with the word engraved on them is also known e.g., absence of fatigue on long journey, safe and due delivery of pregnant women, etc. See R. Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, p. 59.

12 *Al-Fatḥ al-Raḥamāni*, p. 21.

13 *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 4. XII. p. 521, etc.

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Wherry[14] in his commentary on the *Qur'ān* discusses all of these mystic groups of letters found at the beginning of some chapters of the holy text whose meanings are not handed down traditionally. One of such groups is ا ل م (A.L.M.). The explanations offered are that it stands for الله لطيف مجيد (*Allāh Latīf Majīd*) - God is gracious and is to be glorified or that it signifies : انا لى منى (*Anā li minni*)—"To me and from me" testifying to the unimpeachable character of the revelation, or thirdly, that it is equivalent to انا الله اعلم (*Anā Allāh ā'lam*)—I am the most wise God, taking the Ist letter ا (a) of the Ist word, the second letter ل (l) of the second word and the 3rd letter م (m) of the third word, reiterating the highest authority of God. These and a number of other similar letters are found in the beginning of some of the chapters of the *Qur'ān* and have been explained in a similar manner. It is not known if *Budūḥ* is some such mystic formula being a combination of certain specially efficacious letters. According to the Abjad system of the evaluation of Arabic letters the total value of the letters in the word is 20 which is regarded by some as specially auspicious. In Al-Ghazāli's المنقذ من الضلال (*Al-munqiz-u min aḍ-ḍalāl*) the word finds mention as a formula efficacious in difficult labour being known as a "three-fold talisman of Al-Ghazāli", who is said to have developed the formula under divine inspiration (الهام *il-hām*) from the combination of the letters كهيعص, and حمعسق which being *Sūras* XIX and XLII of the *Qur'ān*[15]. Later on, the formula came to be known as the foundation of the entire "science of letters" (علم الحروف *'ilm ul-ḥurūf*)..

According to the *Jawāhir-u khamsa* by Mahammad Ghaus-i-Gwalior[16] which is based on older Persian texts dealing with the efficacies of jewels etc., it is said that a person will attain prosperity by revolving a talismanic figure in concentric circles as described below with the help of a log of pomegranate wood at night while reciting the four mystic names *Buddūḥ*, *Quddūs*, *Wahhāb* and *Sbārith*, a thousand and one time. The figure consists of five concentric circles divided

14 E. M. Wherry, *Commmentary on the Qur'ān*, vol. IV. Prel. Discourse, pp. 100-104.

15 For a discussion on the use and other suggested origins of the formula, see *Encyclopædia of Islām* on *Budūḥ*.

16 *Jawāhir-u Khamsa* by Mahammad Ghaus-i Gwalior, (Tr. into Urdu by Mir Hasan, Delhi), *tisra jawāhir*, p. 102.

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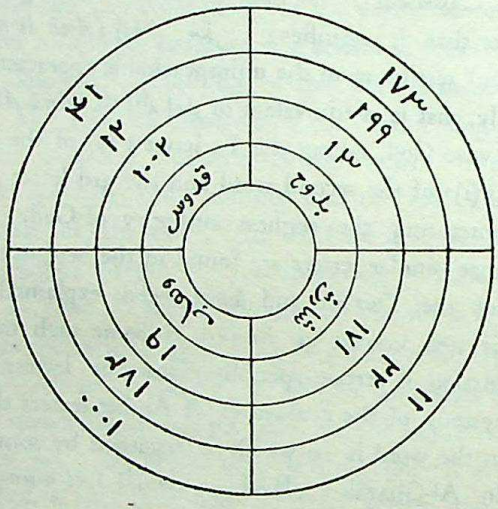
diagonally into four parts. The interspaces between the innermost circles in each part are filled in by the following words in order: *Buddūḥ*, *Quddūs*, *Wahhāb* and *Shārith*, while the other interspaces in the four parts have certain mystic numbers as shown below:



It is interesting to note that of the four words two viz., *Buddūḥ* and *Quddūs* are mentioned also in the present inscription while the third, *Wahhāb*, is mentioned in another similar inscription noticed below.[17] And *Shārith* which is not one of the 99 Beautiful Names of *Allāh* appears to be another mystic word like *Buddūḥ*.

In the *Jawāhir* referred to above it is said[18] that in order to cure a certain disease of children, a talismanic formula in the form of a chant is recited which ends with an address to *Buddūḥ*. The formula consists of addresses to seven angels such as: *Jibrā'īl*, *Mīkā'īl*, *Isrāfīl*, *'Azrā'īl*, *Dardā'īl*, *Raftamā'īl* and *Tankafīl* besides that to *Buddūḥ* who is said to help the others in achieving the object.

The same work gives[19] another mystic formula for curing headache, toothache and backache, which also ends with the address to *Buddūḥ*. The rest of the text is a quotation[20] from the *Qur'ān*, Ch. XVII, sec. 12.

17 See fn. 38 on page 9.

18 *Op. cit., chauthā jawāhir*, p. 3.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

20 The quotation here is apparently addressed to *Buddūḥ* and is significantly taken from the *Sūra* known as *Banī Isrā-īl* or Children of Israel and the quoted text means—"We sent down (the *Qur'ān*) in Truth and in Truth has it descended"—Yusuf Ali's Translation, p. 725.

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The *Mujarrabāt-i Sulaimāni* of Zahiruddin Ahmad which deals with astronomy mainly, gives a number of talismanic uses of the word. The talismans in which the word is used along with certain mystic figures etc., are efficacious in obtaining results in a number of different cases. Thus to create enmity between two persons[21] the word is written or engraved on a talisman where, however, it is not addressed.

Uses of the word on amulets for the purpose of stopping the cries of a baby are peculiarly obtained in a quadrangular arrangement of letters numbering nine in all, set in three rows[22], thus:

ل	ط	ب
ج	ه	ز
ح	ا	و

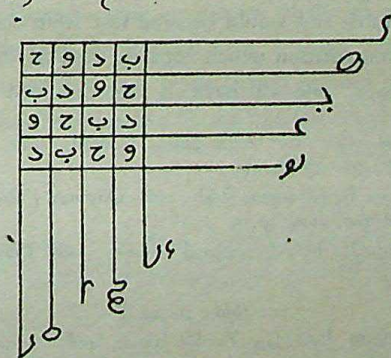
This use in amulet is also noticed in removing toothache as mentioned in the same work[23]. Two other uses of the word in talismans are in connection with making a barren woman fertile and removing pain of childbirth[24].

Another astronomical work the *Naqsh-i Sulaimāni* mentions two other uses of talismans on which the address to *Buddūḥ* mainly occurs. One of these is to secure a runaway and the other against attack of

21 *Mujarrabāt-i Sulaimāni*, Pub. Hamidi Press, Cawnpore, p. 33. See also, *Naqsh-i Sulaimāni*, p. 24.

22 *Mujarrabāt-i Sulaimāni*, p. 49.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 58, the amulet is formed by a very interesting combination of the four letters: ب د ر and ح thus:



24 *Ibid.*, pp. 62 & 64.

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cholera[25]. In the former case the word is used in the form of an address being written on the four arms of a pair of lines cutting at right angles and in the four quarters thus formed. In the latter use also it is in the form of an address along with a number of other similar addresses to angels or spirits like يا حفيظ , يا حق . The *Tāj-i Sulaimāni*[26] gives a chant containing the word *Buddūḥ* which if recited for 3125 times before زكوة (sanctification) and after that for 1400 times enables one to become rich. The text of the chant runs as follows: يا رهاب بحق يا بدوح

A similar use is also found in *Muhur-i Sulaimāni*[27] where it is in the form of an address as in the present inscription. In this work there is mention of certain other uses of the word e.g., in gagging the enemy[28], in warding off evil spirits[29] and in curing headache[30]. The first of these is in the form of a talisman which also contains at the four corners addresses to four angels, viz, *Jibrā'īl*, *Dardā'īl*, *Tamkā'il* and *Mikā'īl*. The second use is in a chant and the word here also is in the form of an address along with those to يا قيوم , يا حي . The talisman that cures headache consists of twelve squares arranged in three horizontal rows of four, each containing the word يا بدوح

The *Naf'ul Khalā'aq*[31] mentions that if any one ties on the left hand an amulet which contains mention of the address to *Budūḥ* 16 times in four equal rows, then there will be no fear from evil spirits and one will get cured of the fever with shakes, if any. The same text in another place[32] mentions that on looking at a talismanic arrangement containing, curiously enough, the very five mystical words as are found in our present epigraph: يا بدوح يا قدوس , يا فتاح , يا الله and سبوح يا among others, on Thursdays, one will get honour and dignity as also wealth and would become free from dangers. Similarly, on looking at a composition which contains four of the above except the يا الله on Fridays, one will have all foes subdued and turned into

25 *Naqsh-i Sulaimāni* by Zahir-uddin Ahmad, pub. Haji Malik Din Mohammad, Lahore, pp. 27 & 38.

26 *Tāj-i Sulaimāni* by Khanjan Shāh, pub. Qayyum-i Press, Cawnpore, p. 9. For another use see also, *Ibid.*, p. 5.

27 *Muhur-i Sulaimāni* by Mahammad Ishaque, pub. Qayyum-i Press, Cawnpore, pp. 10 & 11.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 16. 29 *Ibid.*, p. 22. 30 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

31 *Naf'ul Khalā'aq* by Hāji Zardār Khan, pub. Munshi Naval Kishore, Lucknow, p. 406. 32 *Ibid.*, p. 450.

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friends[33]. From the above it is clear that the word was never used in prayers and that its use was restricted only in talismanic formulæ and mystic chants.

From the form of the address and the names of the angels and spirits associated with the name both in chants and talismanic formulæ it is clear that the word is a name of a similar angel or spirit but most probably of greater eminence and potentiality. For, when mentioned in a group he is said to help the others in achieving the desired object or when in a talismanic arrangement the word almost invariably occupies a central position. In fact, it has been suggested[34] to be a name for *Allāh* Himself, being of Pentateuchal origin, the meaning being 'God is much praised'. The word is said to bear much glory and potentiality.

Although, as we have said, the word has not been discussed in any Arabic lexicon, it may be derived from the Arabic root بدح on the measure of فعول, a noun of intensity, the meaning of the word being "most eminent in rank and dignity". From the same root is derived the word بديع on the measure of فَعِيل which means eminent in rank and dignity.

The word might also be derived from بَدَحَ. The منتخب (Muntakhab) mentions a root بَدْحَ which means "to achieve a thing all on a sudden" as if by a magic, from which the derivative بدوح may mean 'one able to achieve things suddenly by a miracle'.

As regards the orthography of the text, it is to be noted that in general the inscription has the vowel and other marks of spelling in the manner as was followed in the epigraphs of the time of the independent Sulṭāns of Bengal beginning from Ḥusain Shāh.[35] Thus the vowel signs like the *fatḥa* (ـَ), the *kasra* (ـِ) and the *ḍamma* (ـُ) are all shown while the consonant marks like the *teshdid* (ـّ) as also

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, where the chant clearly brings out the mystic nature of the name بدوح The chant if recited for 1141 times after the *Namāz-i Ishā* begets success and victory.

34 *Ibid., loc. cit.*

35 *Vide, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1933-4, pl. I (b), II (a).

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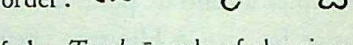
the *hamza* sign (ء) are generally conspicuous, e.g., إنّما etc. In certain instances again, these marks are omitted specially for the limitedness of the space in an epigraph, e.g., يعمر for يعمرُ (line 2) مساجد for مساجدَ (line 2) and so on. The *teshdid* is sometimes used and sometimes left out, e.g., الصّارة but الزكـرة (line 3).

There are three decorative designs[36] in relief as the letters of the epigraph, in lines 2, 4 and 5; they are in order: 

One of the general characteristics[37] of the *Ṭughrā* style of the time of Ḥusain Shāh viz., raising the *nūn* (ن) above the line is also noticeable in the present inscription as in من (line 2); similarly the ق (line 3) is also raised above the line and its elongated tail running across the shafts of the line provides a typical decoration of the *Ṭughrā* style, the form being 'bow and arrow'.

The present inscription bears close similarity with another inscription from Gaur[38] dated 925 H. (1519 A.D.) in point of the letter-forms. On palaeographic grounds, therefore, the present epigraph can safely be assigned to the same period, i.e., early 16th Century A.D.

The text of the inscription in 5 lines opens with the *bi'smi'llāh* which forms the 1st line of the epigraph while the remaining four give a quotation from the *Qur'ān*, the *Sūra Tauba* (Repentance), also known as *Sūra Barāat* (Immunity), being chapter IX, Section 3 verse 18. It is strange that this epigraph should begin with the *bi'smi'llāh*, for, the chapter from which the textual portion of the epigraph is a quotation is the solitary exception where the beginning is not with the above formula. The elongations of the shafts in the 1st line are such as to fit in with the grooves of the cusped arch, the shaft at the centre being the longest while those at the two sides gradually getting shorter.

36 For similar designs on Muslim epigraphs of Bengal see *E.I.-M.*, 1933-4 pls. II (a), III (a), IV etc.

37 Compare *Ibid.*, pl. I (b), II (a), IV.

38 *JASB.*, 1871, p. 256. This inscription will also be edited by the present writer subsequently.

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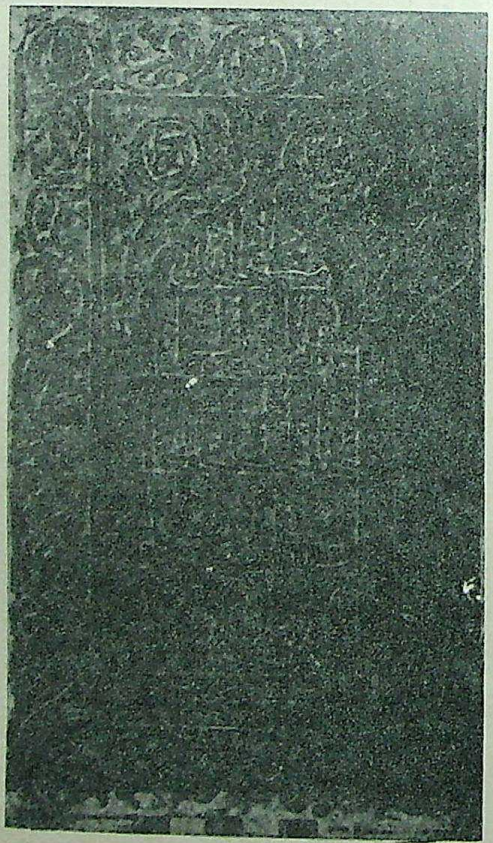

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The text is read as follows:

Bi'smi'llāh-ir-Raḥaman ir-Raḥīm	Line 1
Innamā ya'muru masājid Allāhi man āmana bi'llāhi wal yaum	,, 2
il ākhir-i wa aqāmaṣ-ṣalāta wa ātaz-zakāta	,, 3
wa lam yakhsha illallāha fa'asā ulā'ika	,, 4
an yakūnū min al-muhtadīn	,, 5

In the name of God, the Merciful (and) the Clement.

"Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and the latter day and keeps up prayer and pays the poor-rate and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these), it may be that they are of the followers of the right course".

A. K. Bhattacharyya

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King Candra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription

The identity of king Candra of the Meherauli iron-pillar inscription has intrigued scholars and historians ever since the inscription was first brought to light.[1] He has been variously sought to be identified with Candragupta Maurya, Kaniṣka I, the Nāga Candrāṁśa, one of the Devarakṣitas, Candravarman of Puṣkaraṇa and Malwa, Candragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, his grandson Candragupta II, and also with one of the brothers of Mihirakula.

The suggestion that king Candra of the Meherauli record may be the same as Candragupta Maurya need not be seriously considered.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar[2] has suggested his identification with the great Kaniṣka, who is called Candra Kaṇaiska in a Khotanese manuscript.[3] Some scholars, however, do not accept this view.[4]

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri puts forward the suggestion that king Candra of the Meherauli inscription may be the same as Candrāṁśa of the Puranic list of post-Andhran kings of the Nāga lineage.[5] The epithet of "second Nakhavant" or Naḥapāna applied to Candrāṁśa in the Purāṇas suggests that he was a mighty monarch. But he is still too shadowy a figure to be connected without further evidence with Candra of the Meherauli inscription.

Another writer has suggested that Candra of the Meherauli inscription possibly belonged to the Devarakṣita dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas as ruling over *Tāmraliptān-sasāgarān*.[6] But from the meagre details about the Devarakṣitas in the Purāṇas it is not safe to connect king Candra with that line.

Mm. H. P. Sastri sought to identify this king with Candravarman, lord of Puṣkaraṇa and son of Siṁhavarman, mentioned in the Susunia rock-inscription, whom he further consider to be a brother of king Naravarman of Malwa, mentioned in a Mandasor inscription of the

1 *JASB.*, vol. III, p. 494, and pl. xxx. Dr. Bhau Daji first read the king's name as 'Candra' in *JBBRAS.*, vol. X, pp. 63 f.

2 *JRASB.*, 1943, pp. 179 f.

3 *JRAS.*, 1942, pp. 14 f.

4 *IHQ.*, 1945, pp. 20 f.

5 *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 449, note 1.

6 *Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal.* pp. 205-207.

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Mālava year 461 or A.D. 404.[7] This Candravarman of Puṣkaraṇa and Malwa was further equated with his namesake mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa as one of the kings of *Āryāvarta* annihilated by Samudragupta. The proposition rested mainly on the identification of Siṁhavarman of the Susunia rock-inscription with the person of the same name mentioned as the father of king Naravarman of Malwa in the Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D., and on the equation of Puṣkaraṇa of the Susunia record with modern Pushkara in Jodhpur state. But later researches have shown that Puṣkaraṇa of the Susunia epigraph is probably to be identified with the village of Pokharana in the Bankura district of Bengal (now in West Bengal), about 25 miles to the north-east of the Susunia rock.[8] King Candravarman of the Susunia inscription would, thus, appear to have been a local ruler of south-west Bengal, having little to do with the line of Siṁhavarman of Malwa. It is, therefore, difficult to identify him with king Candra of the Meherauli inscription who appears to have enjoyed imperial status (*aikādhirājyam*). *Mahārāja* Candravarman of the Susunia record is, however, probably identical with Candravarman of the Allahabad pillar-inscription whom Samudragupta is said to have completely destroyed.

According to Dr. Fleet, king Candra of the Meherauli inscription might be the same as Candragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha. His alternative suggestion that "the inscription is one of the younger brother of Mihirakula, whose name is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang"[9] has litt'e evidence to support it. The identification with Candragupta I has been accepted by Dr. R. G. Basak.[10] One serious objection to this view is that there exists an almost unbridgeable gulf between the dominions enjoyed by Candragupta I and the conquests attributed to king Candra in the Meherauli inscription. It records that king Candra carried his arms across the seven mouths of the Indus and defeated the Vāhlikas or Bactrians in the west. In the east he is said to have defeated his enemies in the Vaṅga countries. It is difficult to believe that such far-flung expeditions could have been carried out by Candragupta I. The account of Samudragupta's conquests in *Āryāvarta* given in the Allahabad pillar-inscription indicates that Candragupta I's dominions were confined

7 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 315-321.
8 *ASI., A.R.*, 1927-28, pp. 188-189.
9 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 140, note 1, and *ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 12-13.
10 *History of N.E. India*, pp. 13-16.

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within narrow limits in the Gangetic valley. As the Puranic verse suggests, they probably did not extend beyond the districts of Allahabad, Oudh and South Bihar.[11]

Dr. Hoernle suggested the identification of king Candra of the Meherauli pillar-inscription with Candragupta II Vikramāditya,[12] and has been followed by others. It should be noted that the paleography of the record does not go against the identification. The variations in the forms of some of the letters met with here from those of other contemporary Gupta records may be explained as being due to the use of a different medium, namely, iron, and a convex surface.[13] The details of information furnished about king Candra in this record also agree very well with the known facts of the reign of Candragupta II. Thus, in the Meherauli pillar-inscription we are told that king Candra in battle in the Vaṅga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him;[14] that he crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vāhlikas;[15] that by the breezes of his prowess the southern ocean was perfumed;[16] that he enjoyed for a long time sole sovereignty in the world acquired by the prowess of his own arms,[17] and that he was a Vaiṣṇava.[18] We shall presently see how all these statements about king Candra in the Meherauli inscription fit in very well with the known facts of the reign of Candragupta II Vikramāditya.

It is generally assumed that Bengal formed an integral part of the Gupta empire from its inception.[19] But this does not appear to have been the

11 Cf. *Anu-gaṅgā-prayāgaṁ ca sāketam-magadhāṁ-stathā/*
Etān janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante gupta-vaṁśajāḥ//.
For a different view, however, see the *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, pp. 134-5.

12 *IA.*, vol. XXI, pp. 43-44. 13 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 140.

14 E.g., *Yasy=odvarttayataḥ pratīpam=urasā śattrūn=samety =āgatān= vaṅgeṣv-āhava-varttino*, in line 1.

15 E.g., *Tirtvā sapta mukhāni yena samare sindhor=jjitā vāhlikā*, in line 2.

16 E.g., *Yasy=ādyāpy=adhivāsyate jalanidhir=vvīryy=ānilair =ddakṣiṇaḥ*, in line 2.

17 E.g., *Prāptena sva-bhuj-ārjjitañ-ca sucirañ=c=aikādhirājyaṁ kṣitau*, in line 5.

18 E.g., *Viṣṇo matiṁ*, in line 6.

19 *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, pp. 130-132; also *History of Bengal*, vol. I, pp. 69-70.

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case. In the days of Candragupta I, the first Gupta *mahārājādhirāja*, the eastern limits of the newly founded 'empire' lay in Magadha or South Bihar. It was in the reign of Samudragupta that parts of south-west Bengal appear to have been for the first time brought under Gupta dominion by the extinction of the power of Candravarman of Puṣkaraṇa (modern Pokharana in the Bankura district of W. Bengal). The greater part of Bengal seems still to have lain outside Samudragupta's empire, and was probably included within the three frontier states of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa. Sir A. Cunningham identified Samataṭa with the delta of the Ganges from the Hugli to the Brahmaputra,[20] and has been followed by S. N. Majumdar Sastri,[21] and Dr. H. C. Ray.[22] Other scholars identify Samataṭa with south-east Bengal bordering on the sea and having as its capital Karmānta or modern Badkamta near Comilla in the Tippera district,[23] now in E. Pakistan. Though "the connection of Samataṭa with the Tipperah district in later ages is clearly established," in the time of Samudragupta its political extent may well have included a large part of southern and central Bengal. Ḍavāka has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri suggests its connexion with Dekaka or modern Dacca in E. Pakistan.[24] Mr. K. L. Barua identifies it with the Kopili valley in Assam.[25] Dr. N. K. Bhattasali identified the chief city of Ḍavāka with Dabok in the Naogong district of Assam, and the country with the valley of the Kopili-Yamuna-Kolang rivers.[26] Ḍavāka may have some connexion also with the Daphla tribe of Assam inhabiting mainly the Naogong district Kāmarūpa, according to the *Yoginī-Tantra*, included the whole of the Brahmaputra (Lauhitya) valley, with Bhutan, Rangpur, Cooch Behar, the north-east of Mymensingh, and possibly the Garo hills. In its political extent Kāmarūpa often included a good slice of north Bengal upto the river Karatoya. It would, thus, appear that Samudragupta was at best able to conquer the south-western parts of Bengal. The fact that the few of Samudragupta's gold coins that have been found in Bengal all come from the western districts, namely, Burd-

20 Cunningham's *Ancient Georgaphy of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar Sastri, p. 576.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 729.

22 *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, p. 274.

23 *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 17.

24 *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 456, note 4.

25 *Early History of Kamarupa*, p. 42.

26 *Bharatvarsa* (in Bengali), B.S. 1348, p. 60.

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wan and Hugli (now in W. Bengal), appears to lend support to this view.[27]

How far Samudragupta was able to maintain hold over his conquests in south-west Bengal, we do not know. It is, however, interesting to note that so far no inscriptions either of Samudragupta or of his son Candragupta II have been discovered in Bengal. It is from the reign of Kumāragupta I that Gupta inscriptions begin to make their appearance in Bengal Mention may be made in this connexion of the Dhanaidaha (Rajshahi district) copper-plate inscription of G.E. 113 or A.D. 432-33,[28] and the Damodarpur (Dinajpur district) copper-plate inscriptions[29] of the reign of Kumāragupta I. From the internal evidence of these land-grants it is clear that by the time they were issued the Gupta administrative machinery had become firmly established in a large part of Bengal. Allowing some time for the consolidation of the Gupta administrative system in Bengal, we may place the conquest and annexation of its greater part a few years prior to the issue of the Dhanaidaha and Damodarpur grants by Kumāragupta I, that is, during the closing years of the reign of Candragupta II. This conclusion is curiously confirmed by the evidence of coins.

It has been shown elsewhere that Candragupta II Vikramāditya was probably the first of the Gupta emperors to strike gold coins on the ancient *suvarṇa*-standard of the Hindus,[30] as distinguished from the Kuṣāṇa-standard based on that of the Roman *denarius-aureus* which was followed in the case of the majority of the gold coins of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. These gold coins of the *suvarṇa*-standard minted by Candragupta II were probably meant for circulation in Bengal which of all the territories under the Imperial Guptas had been the farthest removed from the Kuṣāṇa pale. It may be noted here that Kuṣāṇa gold coins occur very rarely in Bengal, only about half a dozen of these coins having been found so far in the districts of Rajshahi (now in E. Pakistan) and Murshidabad (now in W. Bengal).[31] It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the Kusāṇa standard would be comparatively unknown and unacceptable in Bengal in the time of Candragupta II. It would appear, therefore, that when Candragupta II had reduced the greater part of Bengal, he had

27 *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 82, and *JRAS.*, 1889, p. 70.
28 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, pp. 345 f.
29 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, pp. 130 f; *ibid.*, vol. XVII, p. 193.
30 *JNSI.*, vol. VII, pp. 16-17.
31 *JASB.*, 1857, Proceedings for April, p. 172; *Proc.*, *ASB.*, 1884, p. 71; *Banglar Itihas* (in Bengali), vol. I, p. 39; *Gaudarajamala* (in Bengali), p. 4.

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no other alternative but to strike his gold coins intended for circulation there on a standard more readily acceptable to its people. This standard could be none other than the ancient *suvarṇa*-standard of the Hindus of 80 *ratis* or 140 grains. It is interesting to note here that unlike Samudragupta's gold coins which come only from the western districts of Bengal, Candragupta II's gold coins occur as far east as the Dacca district.[32] But as his gold coins of the *suvarṇa*-standard are not very numerous, they would appear to have been minted late in his reign, which would further suggest that the conquest and annexation of the greater part of Bengal took place in the closing years of his reign. Thus, both the numismatic and the epigraphic evidence indicates that Candragupta II Vikramāditya was the first among the Gupta emperors to reduce the greater part of Bengal and bring it under his lasting authority. This conquest and annexation could not have taken place without some warlike expeditions in Bengal on the part of Candragupta II. It is probably to these expeditions of Candragupta II that reference is made in the Meherauli pillar-inscription when it says that king Candra turned back with his breast his enemies in the Vaṅga countries.[33]

We are told in the Meherauli inscription that king Candra defeated the Vāhlikas, that is, the Bactrians, after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. Our information from other sources does not tell us that Candragupta II led any expedition across the Indus and vanquished the Bactrians. But of all the Gupta emperors he was the best placed to carry out such an expedition. As we have already seen, the Gupta 'empire' in the days of Candragupta I was confined within narrow limits in the Gangetic valley. It could not have been possible for him to lead a military expedition across the mouths of the Indus without coming into hostile contact with the powerful Nāga rulers of Mathurā and Padmāvatī, and the warlike republics of the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas and the Ārjunāyanas. By his extensive conquests in *Āryāvarta* Samudragupta destroyed the power of the Nāga ruling houses of Mathurā, Padmāvatī and other places, and extended his empire in the west and south-west so as to have common frontiers with the republican states of

32 *Dacca Review*, 1920, pp. 77, 220.

33 *Vaṅgeṣu* of the Meherauli iron pillar inscription may mean either the different principalities in Vaṅga, i.e., Bengal or the peoples of Vaṅga. See, *History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 47, note 1. Kālidāsa places the Vaṅgas in between the streams of the Ganges, that is, the delta of the Ganges. See, *Raghuvaṁśam*, IV, 36, *gaṅgā-sroto'ntara*.

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the Mālavas, the Ārjunāyanas, the Yaudheyas, the Madrakas, the Ābhīras, the Sanakānikas and the Kākas. The exact location of the Mālavas in the time of Samudragupta is not known. In the 2nd century A.D. they were living in eastern Rajputana, while in the time of Samudragupta's successors they were probably living in the Mandasor region of Malwa. The Ārjunāyanas should probably be located "within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra" to the west of Mathurā.[34] The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygarh region of the Bharatpur state and in Johiyabar on the Sutlej. The Madrakas originally inhabited the Sialkot region. The Ābhīras occupied the tract in western Rajputana near Vinaśana. The Sanakānikas appear to have inhabited eastern Malwa. The Kākas probably lived in the Sanchi region which was known as Kākanāda-boṭa.[35] From the above it would appear that the Gupta empire in the days of Samudragupta had reached eastern Malwa, eastern Rajputana and eastern Punjab in the west. The "seven mouths" of the Indus were still at a distance from its western frontiers. Under Candragupta II the wars of aggression and aggrandisement initiated by Samudragupta were continued farther afield, and the empire was extended in the west by the conquest of the territories of the Mālavas[36] and the W. Kṣatrapas,[37] which added eastern Rajputana, western Malwa, Gujerat and Kathiawad to his empire. These conquests and annexations in the west brought Candragupta II within striking reach of the lower Indus. It is, therefore, not improbable that in pursuance of his plans for the conquest of the whole world[38] he carried his arms across the delta of the Indus and defeated some Bactrian (*Vāhlika*) princelings, as stated in the Meherauli pillar inscription.

The eulogy about king Candra in the Meherauli record that "the breezes of his prowess still perfume the southern ocean" is also not inapplicable to Candragupta II. We learn from several inscriptions, for example, the Poona and the Rithpur copper-plate inscriptions of queen Prabhāvatīguptā, that Candragupta II gave his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to *mahārāja* Rudrasena II, the Vākāṭaka king

34 Allan, *CCAIBM.*, p. lxxxiii.

35 See, the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II of the year 93.

36 Cf. his minute copper coins with the *kalasa*-reverse copied from those of the Mālavas. See, Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. lxxxviii.

37 Cf. his silver coins closely copied from those of the W. Kṣatrapas. See, Allan, *CICGDBM.*, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

38 Cf. *kṛtsna-pṛthvi-jay-ārtthena rājñ=aiv=eha sah=āgataḥ* of a Udaygiri cave inscription of Candragupta II. See, Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, p. 34.

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of Berar and the adjoining districts.[39] It is not improbable that Candragupta II Vikramāditya entered into matrimonial alliance also with the Kadambas of Vaijayantī (modern Banavasi) in Kuntala or the Kanarese country. The Talagunda inscription says that Kākutsthavarman, the Kadamba king of Vaijayantī in Kuntala, gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings.[40] The dates *c.* 425-450 A.D. usually ascribed to Kākutsthavarman[41] are only tentative, and it is not impossibe that he reigned a little earlier, in which case there is little difficulty in identifying the Gupta king with whom he is said to have entered into matrimonial alliance with Candragupta II Vikramāditya. It is also possible that this *alliance de mariage* was contracted while Kākutsthavarman was yet a *yuvarāja* and Candragupta II on the throne of Pāṭalīputra. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśikā*, Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, and Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāra-carcā* refer to the sending of an embassy under Kālidāsa by Vikramāditya to the court of the king of Kuntala.[42] This Vikramāditya may be taken to be Candragupta II who is perhaps the earliest and the best known of the Indian historical Vikramādityas. Though on a rare gold coin of Samudragupta the king's *biruda* on the reverse has been read as *Śrī-vikramaḥ*,[43] it is not yet certain that he called himself Vikramāditya. Scholars are not unanimous on the question of the identity of the Kuntaleśvara to whose court king Vikramāditya is said to have sent the embassy under Kālidāsa. The learned editors of the *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, published by the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad would identify this Kuntaleśvara with the Kadamba king Bhagīratha whose tentative dates *c.* 385-410 A.D.[44] fall within the usually accepted reign period of Candragupta II. In view of these matrimonial alliances and diplomatic exchanges that Candragupta II Vikramāditya seems to have had with the Vākāṭakas and the Kadambas of the Deccan, it would appear quite proper for a court panegyrist to claim that the breezes of his prowess still perfume the southern ocean. It should be noted that the statement *yasyādyapyādhivāsyate jalanidhir = vvīryy = ānilair = ddakṣiṇaḥ* applied to king Candra in the Meherauli inscription is made in a general way to mean that his fame had reached the countries to

39 *Ep. In.*, vol. XV, pp. 41 f; *JASB.*, New Series, vol. XX, pp. 58 f.

40 *Ep. Carn.*, vol. VII, pp. 200 f; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, pp. 31 f.

41 *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 238.

42 *Proceedings, Oriental Conference*, 3rd Session, p. 6; *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 240 and note 1.

43 *JNSI.*, vol. V, p. 136, and pl. IX A, no. 7.

44 *Op. cit.*, p. 238.

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the south of the Vindhyas bordering on the southern ocean, and should not be taken to contain a reference to actual military conquests in the south. Mr. Allan makes the mistake of taking it to refer to some definite conquests in the south when he says that "the statement that 'the breezes of his prowess still perfume the southern ocean' recalls Samudragupta rather than Candragupta."[45]

It is frequently suggested that the satement in the Meherauli iron-pillar inscription that king Candra attained supreme sovereignty in the world by the prowess of his own arms and enjoyed it for a long time cannot apply to Candragupta II who inherited an empire from his father. But if the story of the *Devī-Candraguptam* is to be believed, Candragupta II's accession to the throne of Samudragupta would appear to have been not so peaceful as is generally supposed. According to its author, Candragupta II was preceded on the throne by his elder brother Rāmagupta whose weak rule brought the empire on the verge of ruin as a result of internal disaffection and the inroads of the Śakas, that is, probably the Western Kṣatrapas. Candragupta II is said to have saved the empire from this serious situation by driving out the Śakas and himself assuming the reins of government. If such was really the case, Candragupta II may very well be said to have attained supreme sovereignty (*aikādhirājyam*) by the prowess of his own arms. That he had a long reign is easily granted, for according to the generally accepted computation he reigned for nearly forty years from *c.* 375 to 413 A.D.

Finally it may be pointed out that the epithet "having in faith fixed his mind on the god Viṣṇu," applied to king Candra in the Meherauli pillar inscription, strongly recalls to our mind the attribute of *parama-bhāgavata* so much favoured by Candragupta II.

In view of what has been stated above, the identity of king Candra of the Meherauli inscription with king Candragupta II Vikramāditya may be said to be fairly well established.[46]

R. C. Kar

45 Allan, *CICGDBM.*, p. xxxvii.

46 See, *New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, p. 23, note 2, where Dr. A. S. Altekar says that the identification with Candragupta II is "the most probable one." Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, considers this identification as not yet certain, though in his view it is undoubtedly more probable than the proposed identification with Candragupta I or Candravarman. See, *ibid.*, vol. VI, pp. 168-169.

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Prabhākara's Theory of Error

Errors and illusions are familiar facts to us. Two railway lines seem to meet at a distance though they do never meet actually. Again a stick thrust into water seems to bend double. Although these experiences may be matters of daily occurrence, they need not be brushed aside as trivial. Realism, which advocates the reality of everything of this world, seems to have fumbled at this elusive problem of error. The content of an erroneous experience cannot be said to be real, because our later experience gives a lie direct and so to call it unreal is tantamount to parting with the fundamental tenet of realism. But the admission of error has some far-reaching consequences. If a man can have cognisance of a thing, which is not existent, then there would be no ground for believing in external reality. In point of fact, the Idealists have made enormous capital of abnormal cognitions. They assert that when in error and in dream we have experiences of objects, which do not exist, we have no *á priori* grounds for believing in the existence of external objects on the authority of experience. The so-called normal experiences, the Idealists argue, may be as treacherous as dreams and erroneous experiences are. There would be left no criterion of truth and falsehood, inasmuch as truth is the quality of a judgment, the contents of which have independent reality of their own on the objective plane. This reference to objective reality is necessary for determining the truth and falsity of our knowledge. But if the objective plane be demolished, the result will be only unrelieved scepticism. Thus the problem of error is a vital problem both to the Realists and to the Idealists. But the *Mīmāṃsakas* of *Prabhākara* School approach the problem from a new standpoint.

The *Prābhākaras* are realists and explain the problem of error according to the true realistic light. It will be our endeavour to show in the following pages how the *Mīmāṃsakas* preserve the true essence, the true soul of realism, and yet explain error.

The cognition, 'This is Silver' as regards a shell lying in front is a case of error or misapprehension. The philosophers of different schools give different explanations of it, but the fact that it is an error is admitted on all hands, except by the *Prabhākara mīmāmsakas*. The *Prābhākaras* maintain that there is no error or misapprehension.

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The proof of error is supposed to be furnished by the fact of contradiction. But what is contradiction? ask the Prābhākaras. Contradiction consists in the sublation of one cognition by another which follows it. In a shell-silver illusion the cognition of silver is being corrected by the cognition of shell, and this is otherwise expressed as that the valid cognition of shell contradicts the illusory cognition of silver. But this conception of contradiction or sublation is not logically intelligible. For it is difficult to determine what is sublated, the cognition or its content or its result.

Contradiction may mean the cessation of the first cognition on the emergence of the second. But this cannot be regarded as a proof of the falsity or invalidity because there is no inherent improbability in one valid cognition being succeeded by another valid cognition. The old cognition disappears yielding its place to the new.

Contradiction does not mean the destruction of one cognition by another, which we have seen to be the general nature of all cognitions —the first being replaced by the second. Let it be supposed that contradiction consists in the opposition of the contents of two succeeding cognitions, and the opposition means destruction. This also cannot be a sound position. For nothing can take away the content of a cognition. Cognition is always the cognition of some content. To say that there can be a cognition with its content cut off is to speak unintelligible jargon.

It may be pointed out, again, that contradiction means not the destruction of the content of a cognition, but the apprehension of the non-existence of the content. This also does not throw any light on the problem. Granted that the first cognition takes note of silver, and the second of the shell-character, but the two cognitions are numerically different, and there is no ground for giving preference to one over the other. Each cognition has a content of its own and it is impossible to suggest that a cognition should have reference to a positive fact and its negation at the same time. Whatever may be the case, each cognition stands with its content unassailed.

Nor can it be supposed that contradiction means the destruction of the result of the previous cognition (by the second or the following one). The result of the cognition is the manifestation of its content. And this is bound to occur whenever there is a cognition. The second cognition, whatever it may be, cannot deprive the first cognition of its character. The fact that the previous cognition was of the form

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'This is silver' and the second cognition is of the form 'This is shell' cannot mean that the first cognition is being cancelled by the second either as a mental or a psychical event or as having a reference to some distinctive content of its own.

Moreover the cognition contradicting the previous cognition must have a content which is either the same as that of the first one, or different from it. The first alternative is rejected for in that case there will be merely a repeating series of cognitions, and nothing else. The second alternative is equally unintelligible, for nobody holds that the cognition of pen at one time is rejected by the cognition of table at another. In fact, opposition could occur if one and the same cognition could have different and mutually incompatible contents.

In fine, it may be contended that contradiction means the cancellation of the motor activity, which follows upon the cognition of a situation. (That motor activity is either in the form of acceptance or of avoidance, i.e. movement towards the object or abstention from it.) But this also does not improve matters. For, the motor activity or abstention from it is the result of the arousal of desire and will, and not of a cognition, and it is no fact, that a cognition is invariably followed by conation and consequent motor activity. So the default of motor activity is not an argument either for or against the validity of the cognition.

To sum up. It has been found that contradiction cannot mean the destruction of a cognition or of its content or of its result direct and indirect. The advocates of error *qua* misperception pin their faith on the fact of contradiction, the hollowness and unsoundness of which has thus been exposed and as such there is left no proof of the possibility of error.

The question that now crops up is, will the cognition of silver in a shell then be a valid one? The *Prābhākaras* reply that the objection is based on a basic misconception that there is error or illusion. In fact, there is no such thing. For what is the cause of this unwonted cognition? The answer that is usually given, is that the defective sense organs cause such misperception. But the *Prābhākaras* point out that the senses owing to certain defects will fail to serve their own purpose. The ear owing to some defects will fail to receive sounds, the eye due to certain defects will fail to cognise things. But it can never see a thing in a way in which it is not. Thus there can be no error, because

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it has no cause. Now the problem that confronts the *Prābhākaras* is, how can the appearance of silver in a shell be explained.

The *Prābhākaras* maintain that in the so-called illusory cognition 'This is silver' there are two cognitions (instead of one), one of which is perceptual, and the other pertains to the character of recollection. '*This*' is object of perception, '*silver*' is the object of recollection. That the cognition of silver is nothing but recollection is proved by the fact that those who have no previous experience of silver, will not cognise it in a place where it is not. But mere experience of silver does not exhaust the whole thing. The traces of it are to be retained in the mind. And these traces are revived by proper suggestives which closely resemble silver. Thus silver is not present here, here is only shell with its shell-character concealed. And that silver is recollected is also not felt. That is, there is silver with its memory character obliterated or its *that* character slurred over. It is not always true that a memory act should refer to its *that*, that is to say, to its specific spatio-temporal situation. It is indeed a truism that the datum of memory is an event of the past, and usually things are remembered together with their spatio-temporal context, in other words, we remember what has been experienced at a definite point of space and time.

But it is not necessarily true that the content of memory is always felt along with its spatio-temporal context. For, it is a fact that in a negative judgment the cognition of the negatum is always an act of recollection. Take, for example, 'There is no pen on the table'. What is the epistemological status of the pen (the negatum) in this judgment? It cannot be a perceived fact, because it is not present on the table. It is a veridical judgment, since its absence is a fact, and as such it cannot be regarded as an imaginary construct. The pen is certainly referred to in the judgment, and the cognition of it *as absent* cannot but be regarded as an act of recollection. But though recollected, it is not felt as an elsewhere and elsewhen perceived object. In other words it is not cognised as *that*. Now, such acts which do not refer to the *that* or to the specific spatio-temporal situation are known as the cases of truncated memory (*pramuṣta-tattvāka-smṛti*). The well-known cases of truncated memory are cases of the cognition of the meanings of the words in a sentence. It is true that the denotative relation of the word to its meaning is first apprehended by us. And in a sentence the meanings of the words are understood without any reference to time and space in which the meaning was known for the first time. It is obvious that the

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understanding of the meanings of the words in a sentence is an act of recollection, conditioned as it is by the previous knowledge of the same. Thus instances of the data of memory with their spatio-temporal or memory-character slurred over or truncated are not rare occurrences. The *Prābhākaras* take their stand on these findings and regard the cognition of silver as a case of truncated memory.

Thus owing to some defect either in the cogniser or in the physical medium the shell is not distinctly perceived i.e. as shell. Or in other words it is perceived only as *this*. Now due to certain similarity between shell and silver the cogniser remembers silver and apprehends the object as undifferentiated from it. The distinction between the perceptual cognition and recollection is lost sight of. Thus the *Prābhākaras* maintain that the proposition 'this is silver' is only symptomatic of two unrelated congnitions with their unrelatedness unfelt. Thus the proposition, 'This is silver' when correctly analysed comes to this : '*This*' stands for the shell which is perceived, and there is no error in it. It is the datum of visual perception. Certainly due to certain defects the shell is not clearly perceived i.e. in respect of its specific qualities. And only the generic features such as brightness, glitter etc. which are also found in silver, are taken note of. There is no perversion in this perception since both the *this* and the qualities of whiteness, glitter etc. are presented data. As regards 'silver', which is given as it were as the predicate of the judgment, it cannot be regarded as a perceived fact, since it is not present. It cannot even be an inferred fact for the conditions of inference are entirely absent. It must be supposed, therefore, to be the content of memory. But though a content of memory, *silver* is not felt as such, due to certain defects, which impair the capacity of things. The cognising subject due to certain defects is deprived of its capacity to notice the discriminatory qualities of the shell and hence the shell is perceived only as this, and the memory content is felt not as the content of memory, but as of a cognition. The two contents of perception and memory are felt as contents of cognitions with their characters unspecified. And the fact that they are unrelated also escapes notice.

There is thus the non-apprehension of the non-relation between the contents. In other words, *this is silver* is a pseudo-proposition, the subject having no relation with the predicate. '*This*' and *silver* in no way stand connected in the scheme of reality. And the percipient,

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due to defects, fails to cognise the unrelatedness between the two. And this non-cognition of the unrelatedness, the *Prābhākaras* declare, can by no means be converted into a positive cognition of relatedness.

Thus so-called error is not a single composite experience. It is simply a case of the non-apprehension of the difference between the two cognitions, the cognition of the *this*, and that of the remembered silver. And thus the *Prābhākaras* declare that there is no such case of error or misapprehension. The subsequent negative judgment such as '*This is not silver*' consolidates the fact of non-apprehension of the difference. 'This' means the shell, and 'silver', means silver. In other words, the shell which is represented by the *this* is nothing but shell, and not silver, i.e. *different from* silver. The negative particle '*not*' simply demonstrates this difference.

Let us see how the theory of non-differentiation works in the case of the dream-experiences. In the ordinary cases of error, such as '*shell-silver*', the remembered silver is not felt as remembered and also as distinct from the yonder object shell, perceived only as this. So the theory of non-differentiation holds good here because there are two cognitions and also two different contents. But dream is one homogeneous experience being a series of recollections of the same kind. So the plea that the false dream experience is only due to the fact of non-differentiation breaks down here. Further, it may be contended that dream is not a case of memory but something else. Memory in its broad outlines means the revival of past experiences conserved in the unconscious recesses of the mind in the form of traces or impressions. And the revival of the traces takes place only in accordance with the Laws of Association when one thing is perceived another thing is remembered, because the two stand connected either by the bond of similarity, or contiguity or contrast. But here the experiences being all of the same kind viz., memory, we cannot fall on one impression for the arousal of another impression according to the Laws of Association.

The *Prābhākaras* rejoin that the contention is based upon wrong psychology. For besides the Laws of Association there may be other conditions of the revival of the memory-impressions. Disturbed sleep is one of such conditions. When the mind is held in subjection by sleep and the senses cease to work, the memory-impressions remaining in the sub-conscious or unconscious region of the mind, which were

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held in check in working life by the ceaseless flow of messages received through the senses, crop up on the focus of consciousness (or surface of the mind) and produce the memories. So there can be no ground for repudiating the memory-character to dreams. The *Prābhākaras* maintain that dream is a series of memory acts. And owing to the defect, viz., sleep, their respective distinction is lost sight of. Hence the law of non-differentiation operates here also. It is worthy of being mentioned here that only the fact of non-differentiation is the condition of the so-called abnormal experiences, not the presence of the two different kinds of cognitions, nor even the loss of apprehension of the memory-character of memory. The truncation of memory is only the condition of non-differentiation (and not the condition of error). Thus we see that non-differentiation takes place between perceptual awareness and an act of memory, also between two cognitions of the same kind and between the data of such experiences.

Let us also examine whether this law of non-differentiation operates in what may be regarded purely as cases of perceptual error. The illusion of double moon is one such instance. There is only one moon, but it is perceived as two, when our eyes are squinted. Here the squinted eyeball is the defect, and due to this defect one moon is presented as two distinct images. And because of this defect the distinction between the moon and her images gets obliterated. So the element of non-differentiation is at work here also. As regards the perception of sweetmeat as bitter when the tongue is coated with bile, what is perceived is the bitter taste of the bile, and the sweet-taste (of the sweet-meat) is not differentiatad from it. It is not a fact that the sweetmeat is tasted as bitter, but what happens is that the sweet taste is overwhelmed by the bitter taste, and hence is not discriminated. Here also there are two gustatory perceptions but undistinguished. Similar is the case of the jaundiced man's perception of white-conch as yellow. It will be a wrong interpretation to say that the white conch is perceived as yellow. The yellow colour is present in the jaundiced eye, and the whiteness in the conch, though perceived, is yet not felt as distinct from yellow. There is not confusion of one colour with another but failure of discrimination. Thus it can be laid down as a universal law that in all cases of error there are two numerically distinct data and two distinct cognitions, and there is failure of discrimination between them. But the advocates of theory of

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error go one step further than this, and regard that this act of non-discrimination gives rise to the confusion, which consists in the predication of the character of one thing of the other. And this positive confusion is the cause of the motor activity i.e. movement towards the yonder object. But the *Prābhākara mīmāṃsakas* contend that this supposition is fostered by the imperfect knowledge of the springs of volitional activity based on hasty generalisation.

It is no doubt true that in the veridical judgment, 'This is silver', the 'this' and the 'silver', the subject and the predicate are felt as one identity. And it is also true that this felt identity generates the volitional activity which consists in approaching the yonder object for the acquisition of it. But it would be a hasty generalisation to conclude from it that the condition of the volitional activity is necessarily and universally the apprehension of identity and nothing else. In the so-called illusory experience, the two contents are distinct and different, but not distinguished owing to the influence of the defect. And this non-differentiation has the same efficiency of inducing a positive volitional activity as felt identity. Or we may be permitted to put forward an unwonted interpretation, in the interest of uniformity, that the universal condition of the volitional activity is non-differentiation. This element of non-differentiation is present in the case of the felt identity between the subject and predicate, as discrimination and differentiation would be fatal to the apprehension of identity. In the veridical judgment 'This is silver,' the *this* and the *silver* stand for an identical denotation and consequently they are not felt as numerically different. In the so-called false judgment (though no judgment at all) the *this* and *silver* are not also felt as different. So the element of non-differentiation is present in both the situations, and this should be regarded as the *conditio sine qua non* of the volitional activity.

In fine, it may be observed that according to the *Prābhākaras* there may be wrong desire, but there is no wrong judgment. The wrongness of the will has no bearing upon the truth or falsity of the judgment. All judgments (i.e. knowledge) are true judgments, although the *Prābhākaras* admit the possibility of perverted will and misdirected emotion. But these psychological aberrations, they emphatically assert, are not indices to the corresponding aberrations in judgment.

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Theory and Practice of Saṃskāras in Bengal

The word 'saṃskāra' is derived from the root 'kṛ' preceded by the prefix 'sam' and it literally means embellishment, purification, cleansing, refining, polishing, etc.

As is well-known the life of a Hindu is a series of religious performances right from birth, nay, even from the period of gestation in the mother's womb, up to his death. This is clearly stated in the *Manu-saṃhitā* with regard to the three twice-born castes (*dvija*). Of hese religious performances the most important are the *saṃskāras* or the various purificatory rites which should be gone through by one in order to be freed from taints of certain sins common to all and also to acquire eligibility for the performance of certain rituals. The life of the three twice born castes being divided into four well-defined *āśramas* or stages it is necessary for one, belonging to any of these castes, to pass through the successive *saṃskāras* for affiliation to the successive stages. For example, a member of the twice born caste cannot be eligible for marriage unless he has already duly undergone initiation to Vedic studies (*upanayana*). Thus it is evident that the *saṃskāras* played a very important rôle in the life of the Hindus of ancient India. The elaborate rules and rituals connected with the *saṃskāras* bespeak the supreme importance of these rites in ancient times. With the slackening of the priestly hold on the society and consequent disregard for sacerdotalism and also with the radical change in the social and cultural outlook of people many of the *saṃskāras* have passed into oblivion. Yet, even to-day the *saṃskāras* have not totally disappeared. The most important of them, viz. *Upanayana*, *Vivāha*, etc. are still performed by the majority of the Hindus though not with the same ardour and faith as is enjoined by the *śāstras*.

No study of the social and cultural conditions of the Hindus of old can be complete without a study of the *saṃskāras*. On the one hand it is interesting to trace the history of the *saṃskāras* and, on the other, the gradual extinction of some of the then important *saṃskāras* forms a fascinating study.

Apart from many of the *Gṛhyasūtras* there is a host of other

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works dealing with *saṃskāras*[1]. The views of the *smṛti* writers of Bengal on these rites have not yet been studied in any detail. We, therefore, propose herein to examine their views omitting those details and technicalities of procedure which, though necessary for the priest actually conducting the rites, are devoid of any practical interest.

The principal points to be discussed under *saṃskāras* are: —

1. Works of Bengal dealing with *saṃskāras*;
2. Number, meaning and purpose of *saṃskāras*;
3. Interesting rules of procedure.

The principal *Smṛti-nibandhas* of Bengal dealing with *saṃskāras* are chronologically as follows: —

1. *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*[2] (also called *Daśakarma-paddhati*, or *Bhavadeva-paddhati*) of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa;
2. *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*[3] of Halāyudha;
3. *Saṃskāra-tattva*[4] of Raghunandana.

The first of these works, as the very name implies, deals exclusively with procedure (*paddhati*) of performing the *saṃskāras* and other rites connected therewith. It is limited in scope being concerned with only the *saṃskāras* for the followers of the *Sāma-veda* as is clearly stated in the introductory verse[5]. The other two works deal with various matters in connexion with *saṃskāras*, e.g. the purpose of performing them, the appropriate time of performance etc. besides incidentally touching upon the broad rules of procedure.

There is a wide divergence of views among the writers on *Smṛti* with regard to the number of *saṃskāras*. While Gautama speaks of forty *saṃskāras* in "most of the digests the principal *saṃskāras* are said to be sixteen"[6]. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of *saṃskāras* that were actually in vogue in Bengal during the period extending approximately from the 11th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D. in which the principal *Smṛti* digests of Bengal appear to

1 For a detailed account of such works see Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 188 ff.

2 Printed several times. The edition, most widely used now-a-days in Bengal, is that by Shyamacaran Kaviratna, Calcutta, 1348 B.S.

3 Ed. Tejaścandra Vidyānanda, Calcutta, 1331 B.S.

4 Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara in *Smṛti-tattva*, vol. I, pp. 857-948.

5 Cf. *gṛhyasūtrārthamālocya chandogānāmiyaṃ kramāt* etc., p. 1.

6 See Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 194.

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have been composed. The earliest work of Bengal to deal with *saṃskāras*, as pointed out above, is the *Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* of Bhavadeva. In the absence of a dependable edition of this work it is not possible to ascertain the exact views of Bhavadeva on the number of *saṃskāras*.[7]

Halāyudha enumerates and explains ten *saṃskāras*[8] which are as follows :—

1. *Garbhādhāna*	2. *Puṃsavana*
3. *Sīmantonnayana*	4. *Jātakarma*
5. *Nāmakaraṇa*	6. *Niṣkramaṇa*
7. *Annaprāśana*	8. *Cūḍākaraṇa*
9. *Upanayana*	10. *Vivāha*

To the above list Raghunandana adds two, viz., *Śoṣyantīhoma* after *sīmantonnayana* and *samāvartana* after *upanayana*. It is interesting to note that these two *saṃskāras*, namely *Śoṣyantīhoma* and *sīmantonnayana*, though not included in the list of *saṃskāras* given by Halāyudha, have not been entirely passed over by him. These two have been dealt with by him after *sīmantonnayana* and *upanayana* respectively. It is different to ascertain whether all these *saṃskāras* were prevalent in the times of Halāyudha and Raghunandana. Probability, however, is in favour of their prevalence, otherwise these writers would not have possibly bothered themselves with such rites as had already been extinct and, as such ceased to be of any interest to those for whom their books were intended. Halāyudha's omission of the two *saṃskāras* from the list tends to prove their loss of vogue in his time. His subsequent description of these two rites may probably be explained by his desire to make his work complete from the academic point of view. But then Raghunandana's mention of these *saṃskāras* along with the others presents a difficulty. The history of *saṃskāras* in India has been one of gradual extinction of some of them. This being so it cannot be presumed that *saṃskāras* which

7 In the Preface to the edition, referred to above, the editor clearly states that the *saṃskāras* that have long been obsolete have been omitted from this book.

8 Cf. *garbhādhāna-puraḥsaraṃ daśavidhasaṃskāra karmaṇāṃ/*
dharmādhyakṣa-halāyudhena racitāṃ vyākhyāmimaṃ śṛṇuta//
Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, p. 182.

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were prevalent in Halāyudha's time died out at the time of Raghunandana who flourished long after the former.[9]

With regard to the purpose of *saṃskāras* Hārīta, quoted by Raghunandana, lays down that *Garbhādhāna* is calculated to render the foetus, when grown up, fit for reception of the Veda. *Puṃsavana* ensures the birth of a male child, *Sīmantonnayana* removes from the foetus the taint of sin derived from the parents, and the five kinds of accumulated sin due to seed, blood, urine and womb are removed by *Jātakarma*, *Nāmakaraṇa*, *Annaprāśana*, *Cūḍākaraṇa*, *Samāvartana*. Aṅgiras, as quoted by Raghunandana, beautifully describes the purpose of *saṃskāras*. His remark means that just as a painting gradually unfolds itself by the various accessories so also *brāhmaṇya* or status of a *Brāhmaṇa* is brought about by various *saṃskāras* performed according to prescribed rules.[10]

Garbhādhāna

It is also called *Niṣeka*, *Caturthīkarma* or *Caturthīhoma* in certain *Gṛhyasūtras* and ancient *smṛti* works. It consists in a ceremony to be performed at the union of a married couple after the cessation of the menstrual flow of the wife in order to ensure conception. The ceremony consists in the utterance of some incantations besides certain very crude rites which are positively vulgar to modern taste. Raghunandana makes it clear that this *saṃskāra* is to be performed only once.[11]

Halāyudha incidentally records certain beliefs and drugs in this connexion. He quotes Manu and Yājñavalkya to prove that union of a married couple on even days after the commencement of the wife's menstruation produces a male child while on odd days it results in the

9 It is interesting to note that the *saṃskāras* that are generally observed in Bengal now-a-days are as follaws:—

(*i*) *Sīmantonnayana* (not universal)

(*ii*) *Nāmakaraṇa* and *Annaprāśana* (fused into one and generally known as *Annaprāśana*).

(*iii*) *Cūḍākaraṇa* and *Upanayana* (fused into one and popularly called *Upanayana*).

(*iv*) *Vivāha*.

10 Cf. *citraṃ karma yāthānekair—aṅgair-unmīlyate śanaiḥ|*
brāhmaṇyamapi tadbat syāt saṃskārair-vidhipūrvakaiḥ||
Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 857.

11 Cf. *garbhādhāna-puṃsavana-sīmantonnayanāni sakṛdeva kartavyam*,
Smṛti-tattva, I, p. 909.

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birth of a child of the opposite sex.[12] If after the performance of the *Garbhādhāna* the wife does not conceive she has to put into her right nostril the root of a plant known as *siṃhī* which has to be taken on a day with *Puṣyānakṣatra* after fasting. If even after the application of this drug conception does not take place, then the root of a plant called *Kaṇṭakārikā* is to be taken on a day with *Puṣyānakṣatra* after fasting on a day with *Punarvasunakṣatra*.

Puṃsavana

It is so called because of its being observed with the object of getting a male issue. As regards the time of its performance Halāyudha quotes the authority of Pāraskara which enjoins the second or third month from conception when the throbbing of the foetus is felt.[13] Raghunandana, quoting Gobhila, prescribes the performance of this rite within ten days of the third month from conception.

An important part of the procedure of this *saṃskāra*, briefly referred to by Halāyudha and dealt with exhaustively by Raghunandana, consists in the husband's putting into the right nostril of the wife the pounded shoot of the *nyagrodha* tree.

Sīmantonnayana

It is also called *Sīmantakarma* or simply *sīman* in certain *Gṛhyasūtras*. The word literally means "parting of the hair (of a woman) upwards." Raghunandana interprets *sīmanta* as a particular arrangement of the hair.[14] Both Halāyudha and Raghunandana, the former on the authority of Pāraskara and the latter on that of Gobhila, hold that this rule is to be performed only at the first pregnancy of a woman.

On Pāraskara's authority Halāyudha prescribes the sixth or the eighth month from pregnancy as the proper time for this rite. Raghunandana adds the fourth month as an alternative. He, however, prefers the fourth month to the sixth and the sixth to the eighth.[15] Raghunandana holds that this restriction of the time for performing *sīman-*

12 It may be noted that this belief still prevails in some parts of Bengal.

13 Cf. *Purā spandate iti māse dvitīye, tṛtiye*.....etc., *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* p. 187.

14 Cf. *Sīmantaḥ keśa-racanā-viśeṣaḥ, Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 912.

15 Cf. *na caturthādi māsānām tulyavadvikalpaḥ, Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 913. *kiṃ tu pūrva pūrva kālaḥ praśastaḥ.*

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tonnayana does not apply to the second pregnancy when there is abortion in the case of the first pregnancy before this rite is performed. In such a case the rite may be performed at any time between the throbbing of the foetus and the actual delivery of the child.

Some of the interesting parts of the ceremony are tying of a bunch of *Udumbara* fruits by the husband round the neck of the wife, the husband's raising of the wife's *sīmanta* for three times and his taking the vermilion spot of the wife upwards over the forehead, the husband's blessing the wife to get a heroic son, etc.

Soṣyantīhoma

It is also called *Soṣyantīkarma* in certain older texts. This is performed when the labour pain of a woman is felt,[16] the obvious object of the rite being to facilitate the birth of the child. This is a very brief rite consisting as it does in the performance of a *homa*.

Jātakarma

This rite, as its name implies, is to be performed after the birth of a son before the naval string is cut asunder with a view to ensuring his intelligence (*medhā*) and longevity.[17]

Nāmakaraṇa

This rite is intended for giving a name to the child. Raghunandana cites the authority of Gobhila and of *Śruti* regarding the time of performing this rite. From these authorities we gather the following alternative times:—

(1) After the expiry of ten or eleven nights from birth;
(2) After the expiry of hundred nights from birth;
(3) After the lapse of one year from birth.

It appears that according to custom obtaining in Bhavadeva's time this rite used to be performed also after the lapse of one hundred and one nights from birth or on the very day of birth.

16 Cf. *śoṣyantīṃ śūlāpannāṃ āsaṁna-prasavāṃ jñātvā homaḥ śoṣyanti-homaḥ kartavyaḥ iti śeṣaḥ, Smṛti-tattva*, p. 915.

17 Cf. *jātasya kumārasyācchinnāyāṃ nādyāṃ medhājananāyuṣye karmaṇī karoti*, Pāraskara quoted in *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, p. 104.

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Niṣkramaṇa

This, according to Raghunandana, has to be performed on the third day of the bright fortnight in the third month from the birth of the child. The name of the rite means taking the child out of the house. The rite consists, *inter alia*, in the mother's giving of the child to its father and *vice versa* accompanied by some incantations before the child is taken out of the house for the first time after birth.

Annaprāśana

Raghunandana points out that this rite is omitted in the Gobhila *Gṛhyasūtra*. Nevertheless it should be perfomed as it is enjoined by other authorities.

From the authorities, quoted by Raghunandana, we gather that the sixth or the eighth month from birth was prescribed for this rite in the case of a male child and the fifth or seventh month in the case of a female child.

The principal part of the ceremony is to make the child, adorned with ornaments, eat cooked rice for the first time. Another interesting item is to place before the child, after it has eaten cooked food, tools and utensils required in various arts and crafts (*Śilpabhāṇḍādi*) weapons and *śastras* etc. and to watch which of these is first touched by it. The thing first touched by it is supposed to be its means of livelihood in future.

Cūḍākaraṇa also called Cūḍākarma or Caula

The word literally means the keeping of a tuft of hair (*cūḍā*) after shaving the rest of the hair. This is the ceremony of tonsure or the cutting of the hair for the first time which, according to the authorities quoted by Raghunandana, should be performed in the first, third or fifth year from the birth of the child. The following are the periods prohibited for the performance of this rite:—

(1) the *nakṣatra* of the child's birth
(2) the month of its birth
(3) even months from birth
(4) even years from birth

A razor made of copper (*audumbara-kṣura*) is recommended for the purpose. The hair that is cut off is to be placed in bull's dung and

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buried in a forest or, according to other authorities, it is thrown into a clump of paddy or barley. Bhavadeva prescribes *karṇavedha* or piercing the ears of the child along with this rite.[18] From this remark it seems that unlike in ancient times it was not regarded as an independent rite but formed part of *Cūḍākarma*.

Upanayana

This is one of the two most important *saṃskāras* observed now-a-days the other being *Vivāha*. This rite is intended to initiate a boy to Vedic studies. The rules about the months, *tithis* and days proper for *upanayana* are very intricate the intricacy being added to by quotations from various authorities of whom many are writers on Astrology. Hence only the broad rules are indicated below.

The points to be discussed under *Upanayana*[19] are as follows:—

1. Proper age for *upanayana*;
2. Proper time;
3. Interesting items in the ceremony.

The age for *upanayana* varies in the cases of the different twice-born castes. The proper age may be divided into two classes:—

1. Primary (*mukhya*);
2. Secondary (*gauṇa*).

The primary age is as follows:—

Brāhmaṇa—eighth year from conception in the mother's womb or from birth;

Kṣatriya—eleven years from conception;

Vaiśya—twelve years from conception.

18 Cf. *asminneva samaye karṇavedho'pi kartavyaḥ, Karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*, p 101.

19 The word literally means 'taking near' i.e. taking a boy near the preceptor (*ācārya*) for the purpose of initiating the former to the Vedic studies—*adhyāpanārthamācarya-samīpaṃ niyate yena karmaṇā tadupanayanaṃ—Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 927. The rite is co-eval with the *Ṛg Veda*. Originally the period of studenthood (*brahmacarya*) which followed *upanayana*, spread usually over twelve years after which the student returned home to enter the second stage of life, viz., the life of a householder (*gārhasthya*). Now-a-days, in Bengal at least, the period of twelve years has been reduced to three years or to only one day in some cases thus making the whole ceremony a mere mockery of the rite that was at one time a solemn function marking the commencement of a new chapter in one's life.

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The secondary age is up to sixteen years, twenty-two years and twenty-four years in the cases of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* respectively. The limit up to these years is in the sense of limit inclusive[20] according to Raghunandana. After the expiry of these secondary periods a boy becomes what is called *patita-sāvitrīka* and is deprived of eligibility for *Upanayana* and Vedic studies. From various authorities quoted by Raghunandana his attitude towards a person whose age-limit for *Upanayana* has expired and, as such, has become what is known as *Vrātya* is that he can acquire eligibility for *Upanayana* after observing the prescribed expiatory rites, e.g., *Cāndrāyaṇa*, etc. Raghunandana, however, expressly provides for concessions in the case of those who fail to perform the rite within the proper time owing to the following reasons: —

1. Loss of parents;
2. Destitution;
3. Any calamity befalling the country (*deśopaplava*).

In such cases a person has to perform the expiatory rite called *Kṛcchra* or *Prājāpatya* for three times before making himself eligible for *Upanayana*[21]. The preceptor who initiates such a person is purified by performing the expiatory rite in the same manner in which the person initiated performs it.

An authority, quoted by Raghunandana, describes the different kinds of results accruing to the person by undergoing *Upanayana* in different months. These are as follows: —

1. *Māgha*—acquisition of wealth and good conduct (*dravine-śilādhya*);
2. *Phālguna*—firm determination (*dṛḍhavrata*);
3. *Caitra*—acquisition of intelligence (*medhābin*);
4. *Vaiśākha*—acquisition of learning (*kovida*);
5. *Jyaiṣṭha*—deep political wisdom (*gahana-nītijña*);
6. *Āṣāḍha*—acquisition of power (*kratu-bhājana*).

The following are some of the *nakṣatras* favourable for *upanayana*: — *Svātī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Aśvini, Anurādhā, Hastā, Puṣyā, Citrā, Śravaṇā,*

20 Cf. *ā ṣoḍaśādityabhividhāvāṅ, Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 927.

21 Cf. *yeṣāṃ dvijānāṃ sāvitrī nānuṣṭheta yathāvidhi/*
tāṃścārayitvā trīn kṛcchrān yathāvidhy-upanāyayet//
Manu (XI, 191 quoted in *Smṛti-tattva*, I, 927)

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Uttara-phālgunī, Uttara-bhādrapada, Pūrva-bhādrapada, Pūrvāṣāḍhā etc.

An authority, quoted by Raghunandana, holds a combination of the following times to be propitious for *Upanayana*: —

(1) Sun's progress north of the equator (*uttarāyaṇa*);

(2) The period of the waxing moon (*āpuryamāṇapakṣe*)

The times prescribed for *anadhyāya*[22] or cessation of studies are also prohibited for *upanayana*.

The proper time for *upanayana* for *Kṣatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* is the combination of the sun's course south of the equator and dark fortnight. Some of the interesting items of the ceremony are as follows: —

(1) Feeding of the boy with *kṣīra* etc. in the morning of the day of *upanayana*, shaving, bathing and adorning him with ornaments and making him don a piece of washed (*āhata*) cloth;[23]

(2) Wearing of a girdle made of *muñja* grass, *śara* grass and hemp (*śaṇa*) by the three castes respectively;

(3) Holding of a staff (*daṇḍa*) made of *Bel* or *Palāśa* tree, of *Vaṭa* or *Khadira* tree, of bamboo (*vaiṇava* or *udumbara* tree by Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively.

The staff should reach the hair, the forehead, the nose in the cases of the three castes respectively.[24]

Samāvartana

This rite is also called *snāna* or *āplavana* in some of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Smṛtis*. The word literally means "the return home" (of a student after completing Vedic studies). This rite had a significance in ancient times when a student returned home after actually living for a

22 For periods of *anadhyāya* Cf.

Kārtikasyāśvinasyāpi phālgunāsāḍhayorapi/
Kṛṣṇa-pakṣe dvitiyāyāmanadhyāyaṃ viduruudhāḥ//

quoted in *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 928.

23 The cloth, which is to be used as a lower garment should be made of flax (*kṣumā*) or hemp (*śaṇa*) for *Brāhmaṇa*, of *kārpāsa* cotton for a *Kṣatriya* and of wool (*āvika*) for a *Vaiśya*. The upper garment should be made of the skin of a stag (*ena*), of the deer known as *ruru* and of a goat (*aja*) for the three castes respectively.

24 Raghunandana provides that a staff prescribed for one caste may be used by another caste also in case the particular thing appropriate for that caste is not available—*alābhe vā sarvāṇi sarveṣām—Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 930.

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prescribed period in the house of the preceptor. This custom has long been obsolete, the period of stay in the preceptor's house being reduced to a stay for three nights or, in some cases, to only one night in a closed room so that it has become a mere matter of form. Some of the rites in this connexion mentioned by the *nibandhakāras* of Bengal, who may be presumed to have recorded such rites only as were in vogue in their times, are given below:

The rite consists in the boy's performing the ceremonial ablution in the prescribed manner and then feeding *Brāhmaṇas* and taking his own meal. After this he has to get all his hair not only on his head but also on his body and face cut off retaining a tuft of hair on the head known as *śikhā*, as also his nails. After bath he is to adorn himself with ear-rings etc., wear clean garments, a garland of flower and a pair of leather sandals and take a bamboo staff. Then he is to see the preceptor, sitting with his pupils, with whose permission he is to prepare himself for entering into that stage of life which is known as *Gārhasthya*.

Vivāha[25]

This is by far the the most important of the *saṃskāras* marking as it does the commencement of *gārhasthya* or the second stage of life of a member of the twice-born caste. There are numerous details about the procedure of the ceremony of marriage. As these indicate nothing but mechanical sacerdotalism it is neither interesting nor of any practical value to describe them in detail. Therefore only the broad and interesting practices are noted below.

Raghunandana quotes a number of astrological authorities regarding the times favourable or unfavourable for marriage. Only a few of the broad rules are indicated here. According to Āśvalāyana a beneficial *nakṣatra* in the bright fortnight during the sun's northerly course is favourable for marriage. Raghunandana, apparently with a tone of approval, points out that *vivāha* may be performed at any time.[26] It is interesting to note that Raghunandana cites the authority of Bhujavalabhīma to show that the restriction of auspicious times

25 For a detailed account of the views of the *nibandhakāras* of Bengal regarding various matters connected with marriage see "Marriage in Old and Medieval Bengal according to *Smṛti-nibandhas*" by S. C. Banerji in *Journal of the Gaṅgānāth Jhā Research Institute*, vol. V, pt. 4, pp. 277-303 and vol. VI, pt. I, pp. 11-26. 26 Cf. *Vivāhaḥ sārvakālikaḥ—Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 882.

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in case of *vivāha* applies only to girls within ten years of age. After the expiry of this age-limit no such restriction need be observed. This rule implies that girls should be married off within ten years of their age beyond which the sooner they are married the better without any regard to auspicious times.

The ceremony of *vivāha* commences with the performance of what is called *Nāndīmukha-śrāddha* or *Vṛddhi-śrāddha* by the father of the bride or the groom or by any other person authorised by him if he is himself unable.

Impurity consequent on birth or death usually known as *sūtaka* constitutes a bar to the performance of all religious acts. But *Vivāha* once commenced is not vitiated by such impurity according to Viṣṇu quoted by Raghunandana. The same authority points out that *Nāndīmukha-śrāddha* marks the commencement in the case of *vivāha*. This comes to mean that impurity occurring after the performance of the *Nāndīmukha-śrāddha* as a preliminary of *vivāha* does not vitiate it. Similarly an intercalary month, itself a bar to the performance of a religious ceremony, is not so after the ceremony of *vivāha* has been commenced.

The occurrence of the monthly illness of the bride during the progress of the ceremony does not vitiate it. In such a case the ceremony has to be resumed after a brief rite for removing the impurity caused by the illness. This is laid down in the *Udvāha-tattva* of Raghunandana.

The ceremony proper begins with the entrance into the compound of the bridegroom bathed with fragrant unguents, (*kṛtodvartasnāne jāmātari*) his reception (*varaṇa*) with sandal paste and flowers etc. This is followed by what is called *mukha-candrikā* or *jambulamālikā*[27] which consists in bringing the bride and the groom face to face with each other.

In course of describing the rite connected with marriage Raghunandana incidentally refers to certain superstitious beliefs which are prevalent in Bengal even to-day. Sneezing (*kṣuta*) which is usually condemned as ominous is supposed to be auspicious in *vivāha* as in certain other rites. The songs of women and the sound made by them

27 See "Marriage in Old and Medieval Bengal, etc.," *Journal of the Gaṅgānāth Jhā Research Institute*, vol. VI, pt. 1, p. 18, footnote 59 for detailed note on *jambula-mālikā*.

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which is known as *ulu-ulu* as well as instrumental music are believed to be auspicious inasmuch as these are supposed to ward off evils.

The very first thing to be done in marriage is the formal reception (*arhaṇa*) of the bridegroom. This is to be done after making the bride wear a pair of red cloths and the groom a pair of white ones and adorning the bride with various ornaments and the groom in the prescribed manner. A very interesting practice is the tying up of a cow at the place of marriage. The articles to be offered in receiving the bridegroom are as follows: —

(1) *Viṣṭara*—a seat—this is to be made of a kind of grass known as *darbha*;

(2) *Pādya*—water for washing feet;

(3) *Arghya*—offering consisting of water mixed with curd, a kind of corn, flowers;[28]

(4) *Ācamanīya*—water for rinsing off mouth;

(5) *Madhuparka*—an admixture of curd, honey and ghee.[29]

After this part of the ceremony the bridegroom will release the above-mentioned cow at the request of the barber appointed for the purpose—a practice perhaps believed to bring good luck to the husband who does a piece of humanitarian work by releasing the cow, an animal held in veneration by the Hindus from time immemorial.

Raghunandana refers to *jñātikarman*, a rite connected with marriage, and says that it was no longer in vogue at his time. This consists in the bathing of the bride by her relatives in the prescribed manner.[30]

Though the general rule in a gift is that the offerer faces eastwards and the offeree northwards yet in *vivāha* the offerer faces westwards and the offeree eastwards.

Vivāha cannot be performed in day-time.

All gifts in order to be valid must be accompanied with a fee (*dakṣiṇā*) and the gift of a girl also is no exception to this rule. The gift of a girl must be accompanied by the payment of gold as fee.

28 *Akṣata*—it may mean any of these things:—*lāja*, popularly known as *khai* in Bengal, rice prepared from paddy dried in the sun, barley corn, or any corn. In Bengal, however, this word is generally used in the sense of the aforesaid kind of rice known as *ātapa-taṇḍula*.

29 Ordinarily *madhuparka* means a mixture of curd, ghee, water, honey, sugar.

30 See *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, II, 1, 10, 11.

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The gift of the girl is followed by certain rites in succession of which the chief are as follows: —

(1) *Pāṇigrahaṇa*—The formal holding of the bride's hand by the bridegroom;

(2) *Aśmārohaṇa*—The bride's treading on a stone, the ceremony being supposed to impart stone-like stability to the bride;

(3) *Lājahoma*—The bride's offering of *lāja* (fried rice popularly known as *khai*) into fire.

(4) *Saptapadīgamana*—The bridegroom's making the bride take seven steps in the prescribed manner;

(5) *Murdhābhiṣeka*—Sprinkling holy water on the head of the bride as well as of the bridegroom;

(6) *Mahāvyāhṛti*—homa;

(7) *Dhruvārundhatī-darśana*—The showing by the bridegroom of the stars "*dhruva*" (polestar) and "*arundhatī*" to the bride. The significance of this is that by showing "dhruva" (literally meaning "fixed") and *arundhatī* (from root *rudh*—to confine) the husband is supposed to ensure the wife's stability in his family;

(8) *Patyabhivādana*—The bride's saluting the bridegroom. Here Raghunandana says that in saluting the husband the wife is to mention the husband's *gotra* as her own. This view of Raghunandana differs from that of Bhavadeva who enjoins the mention of her father's *gotra* at this juncture. This divergence rests on the theory as to whether or not at this juncture the *gotra* of the bride is changed into that of her husband. This is a question of interpretation put on the *sūtra* of Gobhila which reads as follows: —

Anumantritā gurum gotreṇābhivādayet. In this *sūtra* the word "*gotreṇa*" is ambiguous. It may be supposed, however, that Bhavadeva and Raghunandana accept the particular interpretation current in their respective times.

This utterance of the *gotra* by the bride at the time of salutation marks the breaking of the ice[31] on her part which implies her strict reticence in all the preceding rites right from the very beginning.

31 Cf. *so'syāvāgvisargaḥ sa evābhivāda evāsyā vadhvāḥ vāgvisargaḥ vāk-prasaraṇam tasmāt pūrvam maunamidānīm maunatyāgaḥ.*
—*Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 904.

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After the foregoing rites are over the married couple should, for three consecutive nights, live on a diet free from *kṣāra*[32] and *lavaṇa* (salt), sleep together on the floor[33] and abstain from sexual intercourse.

It is interesting to add a point here. In course of describing the above rites Raghunandana quotes the following *sūtras* of Gobhila :— *Prāvṛtāṃ yajñopavītinīmabhyudānayañjapet.. .....prāpayet.*[34] This *sūtra* unequivocally provides for the wearing of the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) by the wife on this occasion as a part of the ceremony[35]. Raghunandana, refuting the interpretation of some other writers, maintains that *yajñopavīta* in this case must not be taken in its literal sense but it should be interpreted as 'upper garment' to be worn like the *yajñopavīta*. This definitely indicates the gradual extinction of the custom referred to in the *Gṛhyasūtras* and is in keeping with the general misogynic tendencies noticeable in the post-Vedic literaure.

All the rites over, the husband is to go home with the wife in a conveyance (*yāna*). Then follows a number of rites to be performed by ladies, generally known as *strī-ācāra*. The ladies most suited to the purpose are those who possess good conduct and have their husbands and sons living (*pati-putra-śīla-sampannā*). An interesting rite to be performed in the house of the husband is the placing, on the lap of the wife, of a boy who has not yet undergone the ceremony of tonsure (*akṛtacūḍam bālakam*).

The rite known as *Caturthīkarma* is to be performed on the fourth day after marriage.

The foregoing survey gives us an idea of the *saṃskāras* recognised in Bengal in so far as they are dealt with in the *Smṛti-nibandhas* of this province.

S. C. Banerji

32 Any alkaline or pungent substance or molasses. The sense in which it is used here is rather vague.

33 This rule excludes bed-steads but does not forbid the use of stone, blanket, etc.

34 II, 1, 19-22.

35 See comm. on the above *sūtra* in *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra* with comm. by Satyavṛta Sāmaśramī, Muzaffarpur, 1934, p. 67.

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The Spread of Śaka Era in South India*

The origin of Śaka era is still enveloped in obscurity. According to many scholars it was started by the Kuṣāṇ king Kaniṣka and spread over a large part of North India with the extension of the Kuṣāṇ Empire. The years cited in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇ Emperors Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva are usually referred to this era. The objection that these kings belonged to the Kuṣāṇ, not the Śaka, tribe has not much force; for like other eras, this one also is not specified by any name in early inscriptions. The name Śaka of this era first occurs in a very late inscription in the sixth century A.D.[1] Till then the years of this era, like those of other Indian eras, are only introduced only with the word *varṣa* or *saṁvatsara*. Like the Ābhīra era which later received the name of Kalacuri or Cedi,[2] this era also may have received this name in later times because it was used by Śaka kings.

The years cited in the inscriptions of Magha kings are also probably of the same era. They range from 51 to 139 (i.e from A.D. 129 to A.D. 217).[3] Some kings of this dynasty who are known from their coins have not left us any dated inscriptions. They may have flourished in a later period.[4] The dynasty was finally overthrown by

* This paper was submitted to the last session of the Indian History Congress held at Cuttack.

1 This is the Badāmi rock inscription of Pulakeśin I, dated Śaka 465 (A.D. 543). The earlier inscriptions of the Gāṅga kings dated Ś. 169, 188, 261, 272 etc. are spurious. See Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India, Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 171.

2 As I have shown elsewhere, this era was started by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena. It received its name Kalacuri because it was used by the Kalacuris and the name Cedi because it was current in the Cedi country. These names occur for the first time in the records of the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. See my article 'The Kalacuri-Cedi Era' in *ABORI.*, vol. XXVII, pp. 1 f.

3 See my article 'Dates of Some Early Kings of Kauśāmbi' *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXV, pp. 297 f.

4 Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa whose inscriptions dated in the year 158 have been discovered in the U.P. and the Rewa State may have belonged to this very dynasty. The date 158 probably refers to the Śaka and not to the Gupta era. See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 175.

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Samudragupta. As I have shown elsewhere,[5] Balavarman, who is mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti* as a king of Āryāvarta overthrown by Samudragupta, may have belonged to this very dynasty. With the overthrow of this dynasty the Śaka era ceased to be current in Central India. It was superseded by the Gupta era which spread over a large part of North India with the extension of Gupta supremacy.

There is little doubt that the era used in the inscriptions and coins of the Western Kṣatrapas is the Śaka era of A.D. 78.[6] Some even identify its founder with Caṣṭana, the progenitor of the Kṣatrapa family. Caṣṭana, however, though powerful, was only a *Mahākṣatrapa*, *i.e.*, a provincial Governor. He evidently owed allegiance to some Emperor. The latter may have been the great Kuṣāṇ Emperor Kaniṣka, though definite proof of this is lacking. The dates of the Śaka era used by this satrapal family in its inscriptions and coins range from the year 52 to the year 310 (or 310+x) i.e. from c. A.D. 130 to A.D. 388 (or 388+x).[7] Thereafter the Western Kṣatrapas were overthrown by Candragupta II, who introduced the Gupta era in the provinces of Malwa and Kathiawad.

The Śaka era thus disappeared from North India towards the close of the fourth century A.D.[8] The next certain date of this era in North India (Ś. 784) occurs nearly five centuries later in the Deogarh Jain inscription of the reign of the Pratihāra Emperor Bhoja.[9] It is noteworthy that in this record also it is used together with the Vikrama era which was the reckoning commonly used in North India.

The Śaka era, though thus ousted from North India where it had originated, obtained a wider field in South India. The earliest dates of this era, ranging from the year 41 to 46 occur in the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapa Nahapāna, discovered in the Poona and Nasik Dis-

5 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 304.

6 Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, etc., Introd., p. cv.

7 *Ibid.*, p. cli.

8 The date of the Kānkherā inscription (Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 144) probably refers to the Kalacuri era. See *IHQ.*, vol. XXII, p. 39. The dates Ś 400, 415 and 417 occur in spurious records of the Gurjaras.

9 Bhandarkar's *List* No. 1085.

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tricts.[10] Some scholars refer these dates to the Vikrama era, but this view does not seem to be correct as the Vikrama era was not current anywhere in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era. After the defeat of Nahapāna by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, the Śaka era ceased to be current in Northern Mahārāṣṭra. The country went under the rule of the Sātavāhanas who following the old Indian custom, dated their records in regnal years. After the downfall of the Sātavāhanas, Northern Mahārāṣṭra was annexed by the Ābhīras who started an era of their own in A.D. 249.[11] This era gradually spread to Gujarat, Konkan, Nasik and Poona Districts of Northern Mahārāṣṭra and finally to Vidarbha and continued in use there till the 8th century.

The Śaka era thus disappeared from Northern Mahārāṣṭra in the second century A.D. Later dates of the era come from distant south viz. from the Bijapur District of the Bombay Presidency[12]. The earliest of these is the date S. 465 which occurs in the rock inscription of Pulakeśin I recently discovered at Badami[13]. This followed by several other dates furnished by the inscriptions of the Early Cālukyas of Badami. The era gradually spread northward with the extension of the Cālukyān Empire until in the eighth century A.D. it completely ousted the Kalacuri era from Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha.

In the inscriptions of the Early Cālukyas the era for the first time received the name *Śaka-kāla* or *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla*, i.e. the era of the Śakas or Śaka kings[14]. The years of the era are designated as *Śaka-varṣa*, *Śaka-nṛpati-saṁvatsara* or *Śaka-nṛpati-rājy-ābhiṣeka-saṁvatsara*. The Cālukyas evidently used this era because it was current in their home province before their rise. This will show that the Śaka era, after it was superseded in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, obtained a foothold in the South and continued in use there till the sixth century A.D.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VIII, p. 82; *ASWI.*, vol. IV, p. 103.

11 *ABORI.*, vol., XXVII, pp. 35 f.

12 See Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 7, 9, 10, etc. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1083. The earlier date Ś. 553 furnished by the Tivarkhed plates is spurious. See *IHQ.*, vol. XXV, pp. 138 f.

13 See *Annual Report on Kannad Research for 1940-41*, p. 9.

14 See Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 3, 7, 10, 26 etc.

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when it received the patronage of the Early Cālukyas of Badami. It then gradually spread to the north with the extension of the Cālukyan power.

Who used this era in the period from Ś. 46 to Ś. 465? The name *Śaka-kāla* or *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla* which occurs in the inscriptions of the Cālukyas clearly shows that it was previously used by the Śaka kings. The latter could not have been the Śaka satraps like Bhūmaka or Nahapāna who flourished more than four centuries earlier. Nor could they have been the Western Kṣatrapas of Kathiawad and Malwa who had no connection with the home province of the Early Cālukyas. The Śaka kings who were using this era in the aforementioned period must plainly have been the rulers of the country where the Cālukyas rose to power.

Have we then any evidence of the rule of any Śaka dynasty in the Karṇāṭaka Districts of the Bombay Presidency or the adjoining country? Some coins which were recently sent to me for decipherment throw considerable light on this question.

The first coins to be published of this Śaka dynasty of South India were from the collection of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan). In 1946 he sent me impressions of two copper coins which I published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXII, pp. 34 f. I showed in my article that the coins were imitated from the Elephant type coins of the Sātavāhanas which were current in the Central Deccan. Like the latter they have the figure of an elephant with up-lifted trunk, facing right on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The legend which is in Prakrit runs round the figure of the elephant beginning at vii. The legend on both the coins was fragmentary, but putting the two fragments together it could be restored as *Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*, '(This coin) is of the Śaka (king) Māna of the Mahasa (*i.e.*, Mahiṣa) dynasty'. In this connection I drew attention to the following line from the Purāṇas. It occurs in the section which, according to Pargiter, mentions 'dynasties of the third century A.D.'[15]

शक्यमानाभवद्राजा महिषीणां महीपतिः ।

The reading of this hemistich is evidently very corrupt. There are several other readings. I showed on the evidence of these that the

15 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

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correct reading was probably शकमानोऽभवद्राजा महिष्याणां महीपतिः 'There was the Śaka (king) Māna of the Mahiṣyas.'[16] This clearly indicated that there flourished a Śaka king Māna of the Mahiṣya (or Mahiṣa) dynasty. The dynastic name may have been derived from the country under his rule. The latter was probably Māhiṣaka which is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* along with Vidarbha and Ṛṣīka among the countries of the south.[17] That this Śaka Māna was a mighty king seems certain; for he is one of the few kings of the historical period who find mention in the Purāṇas.

The provenance of the coins had not been recorded; but following a suggestion of Rapson[18] I identified Māhiṣaka with the country round Māhiṣmatī, modern Oṅkar Māndhātā in the Nemad District of the Central Provinces.

Recently some more coins of this dynasty were sent to me by Mr. Khwaja Muḥammad Ahmed, Director of Archaeology in the Hyderabad State. I have published them in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.[19] One of these which was found in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur in the Hyderabad State where extensive ruins of the Sātavāhana age have been discovered, is of lead and roundish in shape. The legend which is in characters of the second or third century A.D. is fragmentary; but it leaves no doubt that the coin was issued by Māna of the Mahaṣa (i.e., Mahiṣa) dynasty. I have shown elsewhere that this coin was issued in imitation of the lion-type coins of Puḷumāvi and Yajña Sātakarṇi.

The second coin sent by Mr. Ahmad was found at Maski, a village in the Lingasur *tāluka* of the Raichur District. This coin is of lead and roundish in shape. It has the figure of a horse facing right on the obverse, with the *svastika* and a tree in railing in the field. On the reverse it has a hill of ten arches surmounted by a crescent between two symbols like the Brāhmī letter *ga*. The legend on this coin also is fragmentary. The extant letters can be read as *-yasasa Mahasasa*. The royal name is unfortunately incomplete, but

16 The dynastic name may have been *Mahiṣa*. See *ibid.*, p. 54. *Mahiṣamaṇḍala* is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁśa* and *Dīpavaṁsa*.

17 *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), Kiskindhākāṇḍa, canto 41, v. 10.

18 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 603.

19 *JNSI.*, vol. XI, pp. 1ff.

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that the king belonged to the same dynasty as the Śaka Māna seems certain.

The royal name Mahiṣa seems to have been derived from the country of Māhiṣaka.[20] There are several references to this country in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. I now feel certain that the country was situated in the south; for it is mentioned with such southern countries as Vidarbha, Ṛṣīka, Kuntala, Karṇāṭaka, Draviḍa and Kaliṅga. From the provenance of these coins which were discovered in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur and Maski, it would appear that Māhiṣaka was the name of the southern portion of the Hyderabad State.

The coins described above clearly indicate that the Śaka dynasty founded by Māna ruled over this part of the country for some generations. The Purāṇas say that among the successors of the Āndhras (i.e. the Sātavāhanas) there were 18 Śaka kings who ruled for 380 years. Pargiter however takes the Paurāṇic statement to mean that the Śakas ruled for 183 years.[21] If this is correct, their rule may have come to an end in *circa* A.D. 433.

No inscriptions of any of these Śaka kings have yet been discovered, but that some kings of Śaka extraction were ruling in the south is known from the Candravalli inscription which states that Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, who flourished in *c.* A.D. 350 conquered *Śaka-sthāna*, i.e. the country of the Śakas.[22] These Śakas were probably not the Western Kṣatrapas who ruled over the distant countries of Malwa and Kathiawad, but the kings of the Mahiṣa dynasty ruling over the neighbouring country of Māhiṣaka. It is not known whether these Śaka kings were descended from Nahapāna[23]. If they were, their ancestors may have moved to the south

20 This country is also called *Mahiṣa*. See Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 54.

21 See *Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirnayasagar ed.), Kiskindhā kāṇḍa, canto 41, v. 10; *Mahābhārata*, *Bhiṣmaparvan* (Jambūkhaṇḍa) (Bhandarkar Institute ed.) *adhyāya*, 10, vv. 56-7; *Karṇaparvan* (Chitraśālā Press ed.), ad. 44, v. 43; *Anuśāsanaparvan*, ad. 33, vv. 22-3; *Vāyupurāṇa*, ad. 45, v. 125 etc.

22 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Introd. pp. xxiv f.

23 After this article was sent for publication, Mr. Ahmad sent me some lead coins of the kings of this Mahisa dynasty, discovered at Kondapur, which, like the coins of Nahapāna, have the figure of an arrow and thunderbolt on the reverse. This indicates that these Śaka kings were probably descended from Nahapāna. The coins will soon be published.

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after Nahapāna's defeat by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. They must have continued to use the Śaka era throughout their dominions, which seem to have comprised the southern portion of the Hyderabad State (ancient Māhiṣaka) and the adjoining Kanarese districts of Bijapur and Dharwad. The era may have continued in use in this part of the country even after the downfall of the Śaka dynasty as it had become the habitual reckoning of the people. The Cālukyas who rose to power after the Śakas were not loth to date their records in this reckoning as they dated them in the Kalacuri era in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and Konkan when they ousted the Kalacuris from these provinces.[24] They, however, clearly stated in their inscriptions that it was the era of Śaka kings. The era gradually moved northward as the Cālukyas and their feudatories such as the Sendrakas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas established themselves in Northern Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and Vidarbha. In later times it spread also to the country of Kaliṅga where it superceded the Gāṅga era in the 11th century A.D. During the time of the Yādava king Kṛṣṇa its origin came to be ascribed to the legendary king Śālivāhana.[25]

Such is in brief the history of the spread of the Śaka era in South India.

V. V. Mirashi

24 *Mysore Archæological Survey Annual Report for 1929*, p. 50.
25 *Journal of Oriental Research*, vol. XVII, pp. 92 f.

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Gleanings from the Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī

[A history of the Jaina Ācāryas of the Kharatara branch (1010-1336 A.D.)]

The paper MS. of the *Paṭṭāvalī* used here has been copied from some old manuscript completed probably in V. 1393. Its importance lies not merely in being an absolutely trustworthy and well-dated account of the *ācāryas* of the *Kharatara-gaccha* but also in the important side-lights it throws on the political, religious, economic and social history of the period, 1010-1336 A.D. In this paper, the political aspect only is being dealt with.

Of the important rulers contacted by the Kharatara *Ācāryas* we might specially mention Durlabharāja Caulukya of Gujarāt, Naravarman of Mālwa, Kumārapāla of Tribhuvanagiri, Madanapāla of Delhi, Arṇorāja and Pṛthvīrāja III of Ajmer, Udayasiṁha and Cācigadeva of Jālor, and the Sultāns Qutbuddīn Khiljī and Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq of Delhi. Containing as it does some new facts and dates about the reigns of these rulers, the MS. forms a valuable source of Indian history. Especially interesting is its account of the Cāhamānas of Rājputānā and the religious policy of the early Muslim Sultāns of Delhi.

The paper MS. of the *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvalī* used by us belongs to the Kṣamākalyāṇa *upāśraya* of Bikaner. Written in the Devanāgarī script of the 16th century or so, it is, as shown by various lacunae, a copy of some other MS. completed probably in V. 1393. The language used is good Sanskrit, made deliberately a bit popular in its character by the inclusion of some irregular formations and *deśī* words[1]. The earlier part of the work is undated and derived from the same source as the *Gaṇadharasārdhaśatakabṛhadvṛtti* of Sumatigaṇi. The dated record begins with V. 1211 and is carried up to V. 1393, the portion up to V. 1305 being the work of Jinapāla, a disciple of Jinapati Sūri (V. 1223-1277). In view of the great importance of the work, it would probably not be out of place, if we present here the chief political facts gleaned from its pages. Economic, social

1 In the colophon of the *Paṭṭāvalī* Jinapāla requests those desirous of correcting his language to remember that the work has been written for "*bālāvabodha*," i.e., the instruction of the layman and not the expert.

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and religious matter has been relegated to another paper to be published elsewhere.[2]

The first ruler mentioned in the *Paṭṭāvalī* is Durlabharāja Caulukya of Gujarat. He is represented as a just ruler trying to follow in the footsteps of his forefathers and dispensing evenhanded justice to the people. In spite of the *Caityavāsins*[3] being very influential at his court, he extended his patronage and protection to the numerically small and almost alien sect headed by Jineśvara, on the ground that its teachings were in accord with those of Jaina scriptures, and gave it the coveted name of *Kharatara*[3a] Durlabharāja's *purohita*, though a Brahmin attached to Vedic rites, was equally tolerant and could appreciate real merit wherever it might be.

Jineśvara Sūri's disciple, Abhayadeva, ranks as one of the greatest scholars of the Jaina world. His successor, Jinavallabha, besides being equally scholarly, was an ardent reformer. So pleased was Naravarman Paramāra of Malwa (c. 1097-1111 A.D.) with his extraordinary poetic talent that he offered him the choice of accepting either three villages or 3,00,000 *pāruttha drammas*.[4] Jinavallabha accepted neither. He requested instead that Naravarman should grant two *pāruttha drammas* daily from the customs house of Chitore for the maintenance of its two *Kharatara* temples. This brief notice is historically important as giving us some idea of the extent of the Paramāra kingdom and the political status of Mewār. Most probably the latter's independence had ended with the defeat and slaughter of its ruler Ambāprasāda by Cāhamāna Vākpati II of Śākambharī. A few years later it presumably passed into Paramāra possession on the death of Vākpati's successor, Viryarāma, at the hands of Bhoja of Malwa[5].

2 In a very short paper on the *Paṭṭāvali* published in the *IHQ*., some time ago, we have discussed very summarily some of its main features.

3 As a result of the accumulation of property in their hands many Jaina *śadhus* had come to lead luxurious lives. They lived in temples or *caityas* owned by themselves and were consequently known as *Caityavāsins* in contradistinction to their rivals, the Kharataras, who led lives of poverty and utter simplicity and elected to stay in the houses of their followers instead of acquiring money and property for themselves.

4 According to the *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha* one *pāruttha dramma* equalled 8 ordinary *drammas* in value.

5 See the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, V, 59-60 and 67.

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Jinavallabha's successor, Jinadatta Sūri (V. 1169-V. 1211), was a contemporary of Arṇorāja Cāhamāna of Ajmer. He showed the *ācārya* respect not only by visiting him at his place but also by granting his followers a suitable site for a big Jaina temple. At Tribhuvanagiri (modern Tahangarh) Jinadatta Sūri imparted religious instruction to its ruler, Kumārapāla, and converted many people to Jainism.

Jinacandra's time (V. 1211-1223) saw the Muslims carrying their raids as far as Delhi which was then being ruled by Madanapāla. Who this ruler was can only be a matter of conjecture, for the *Paṭṭāvalī* gives no further details about him. The coins of one Madanapāla of Delhi are, mentioned by Ṭhakkura Pheru in his *Dravyaparīkṣā*, a book compiled in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Madanapāla was perhaps, therefore, an important ruler, probably a scion of the Tomara dynasty which ruled Delhi before its capture by the Cāhamānas somewhere between V. 1208 and 1226[6]. After being a sovereign in his own right, he might have by V. 1223, the year in which he is mentioned by the *Paṭṭāvalī*, became a subordinate of Vigraharāja Cāhamāna, or perhaps even continued as an independent ruler after paying a nominal tribute to the Cāhamāna ruler whose statements, it might be remarked, have to be accepted cautiously. Vigraharāja IV claimed having exacted tribute from all the states up to the Vindhyās,[7] even though his contemporary, Kumārapāla Caulukya, was as great and strong a ruler if not actually greater. He claimed also having made Āryāvarta the real abode of the Āryas by the extermination of the Mlecchas,[8] even though we know from our *Paṭṭāvalī* that the Muslims could even in V. 1222 reach the outskirts of Delhi without meeting any serious opposition.

Jinacandra's successor, Jinapati Sūri (V. 1223-1277), is an equally great name in the history of the *Kharataragaccha*. We find him coming into contact with Bhīmasiṁha, the ruler of Āśikā or Hānsī, in V. 1228, Pṛthvīrāja III of Ajmer in V. 1239, Rāṇaka Kelhaṇa of

6 Vigraharāja IV ascended the throne of Ajmer in *c.* V. 1208. The capture of Delhi by him is first referred to in the Bijolia inscription of V. 1226 in words which might merely signify its subjection instead of annexation.

7 Delhi Siwālik inscription of Vigraharāja IV edited by F. Kielhorn in the *IA.*, XIX, pp. 215-19.

8 *Ibid.*

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Lavaṇakheṭa in V. 1251, Rāṇaka Āsarāja in V. 1271, and Rājādhirāja Pṛthvīcandra of Nagarkot in V. 1273.

Bhīmasiṁha was probably a Cāhamāna governor, Āśikā being a fortified outpost of the Cāhamāna empire. In V. 1224 it was governed by Kilhaṇa, an uncle of the Cāhamāna ruler Pṛthvīrāja I.[9] Bhīmasiṁha might have been Kilhaṇa's son or just his successor in the post. The *Paṭṭāvalī* mentions three of Bhīmasiṁha's high officers, Diddā, Kakkariu and Kālū.

Pṛthvīrāja III ascended the throne of Ajmer in V. 1234. The account preserved in the *Paṭṭāvalī* shows that he had achieved military distinction as early as V. 1239 by defeating the Bhadānakas[10] and was already contemplating a *digvijaya*, i.e., conquest of all the quarters. He had a cavalry numbering 70,000 to back his ambitions and ruled over an extensive territory mentioned as "1,000 *deśas*" by our writer. He must have had also a good elephant force. His personal elephant, Udayagiri, was famous for its prowess.

The *Paṭṭāvalī* refers to Pṛthvīrāja III's conflict with Bhīmadeva II of Gujarat, a fact so far known only from the Hindi epic, *Pṛthvīrāja-rāso* and one or two other stray references. It shows also that Bhīmadeva II's chief minister, Jagaddeva Pratihāra, was a man of great influence at Aṇahillapaṭṭana. In V. 1244 the pilgrim caravan from Ajmer received his permission to pass through the kingdom of Gujarat. When *daṇḍanāyaka* Abhayaḍa of Asāval, a disciple of Jinapati Sūri's rival, Pradyumnācārya, wanted to punish the *Kharatara saṅgha*, he wrote to Jagaddeva Pratihāra, "In our territory we have at present many extremely rich people from Sapādalakṣa. If I receive your permission, I shall provide fodder for our state horses." Jagaddeva Pratihāra was extremely angry and wrote back saying, "I have with great difficulty concluded just now a treaty with Pṛthvīrāja. If you interfere with the people from Sapādalakṣa, I shall have you sewn in the stomach of an ass". This sufficed to bring the *daṇḍanāyaka* to his senses. He permitted the *saṅgha* to proceed to Aṇahillapaṭṭana.

Pṛthvīrāja liked discussions. In V. 1239 he sent his soldiers to Phalodī to fetch one of the religious disputants, Padmaprabha, to

9 See the Hānsī inscription of his reign edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in *IA.*, 1912, pp. 17-19.

10 They may have been a power whose territory probably occupied the greater part of the Matsya Union.

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Ajmer. Even though already out for *digvijaya*, most probably for his raid on Bundelkhand, he found time to witness the discussion between Jinapati Sūri and his rival, at Narānayana, in a court presided over by himself and attended by his *paṇḍitas*, Vāgīśvara, Janārdana Gauḍa and Vidyāpati. When he left it temporarily for his daily physical exercise, *Maṇḍaleśvara* Kaimāsa, who is mentioned also as Pṛthvīrāja's *sarvādhikārin*, took his place and tried to give the disputants impartial justice with the help of the court *paṇḍitas*.

Pṛthvīrāja's court must have been a splendid affair. Its pavement was set with blue stones, its yard strewn with fragrant flowers. A canopy with pendants of pearls overspread its roomy expanse. Dancing girls, wrestlers, musicians, poets and scholars flocked to it, hoping to show their proficiency and skill to their best judges and to be rewarded according to their merit. It was naturally crowded also with ministers, ministerial secretaries, *sāmantas*, *rāṇakas*, *maṇḍalīkas*, *maṇḍaleśvaras* and other feudatories. Besides Kaimāsa, no doubt its most conspicuous figure, Rāmadeva, a Jaina of the *Kharatara* persuasion, also was one of its important members.

In V. 1251 Jinapati Sūri was at Ajmer. The two months that he spent there were of the greatest trouble on account of the unsettled conditions created by the Muslims[11]. The reference, obviously, is to the capture of Ajmer from Pṛthvīrāja III's brother, Harirāja, by the forces of Qutbuddīn Aibak, a commander of Muḥammad Ghorī and later on the first Slave Ruler of Delhi. In the same year the Sūri visited Rāṇaka Kelhaṇa at Lavaṇakheṭa.

In V. 1253, Jinapati Sūri saw Aṇahillapaṭṭana being sacked by the Muslims. The reference must be to the temporary occupation of the town by Qutbuddīn's forces. Twenty years later, in V. 1273, we find the *Sūri* at Bṛhadvāra. His pupil, Jinapāla, the compiler of a portion of our *Paṭṭāvalī*, defeated in discussion one Manodānanda, a Kāśmīrī paṇḍit of the court of Mahārājādhirāja Pṛthvīcandra of Nagarkoṭ.

Jineśvara Sūri (V. 1278-1331) who assumed his duties as the religious leader of the *Kharatara-gaccha* after a part of India had passed into the hands of the Muslims had naturally a narrower circle

11 The Sūri had to leave Ajmer on account of the "*upadrava*" and go to Aṇahillapaṭṭana.

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of activity than his predecessors, viz., Jābalipura or Jālor, Bāhaḍmer, Prahlādanapura or Pālanpur and the Jaina sacred places visited by him. At Pālanpur he had a *mahotsava* celebrated with the assistance of Rājaputra Jagasīha (V. 1288). In V. 1289 he was well received at Cambay by *Mahāmātya* Vastupāla who may have been the Vaghela governor of the port in that year. For Udayasiṁha of Jālor, the most powerful ruler of the Sonigarā line, we have two new dates, V. 1310 and 1314, the last date known from other sources being V. 1306[12]. In V. 1310 Jineśvara Sūri consecrated some Jaina images. The celebration held on the occasion was attended by Udayasiṁha and *rājamānya* Jaitrasiṁha. In V. 1314 Udayasiṁha joined the ceremony for putting a flagstaff on the chief Jaina temple at Kanakagiri. By V. 1316 Udayasiṁha was dead; his son Cācigadeva ruled in his stead. An entry in the *Paṭṭāvalī* states that on the 6th of the bright half of Māgha, (V.) 1316, Padru and Mūliga put a *kalaśa* and *dhvaja* on the temple of Śāntinātha in the reign of Cācigadeva[13]. In V. 1317 Jineśvara Sūri was at Bhīmapallī in the dominions of Māṇḍalīka. Sīlaṇa was the name of his *daṇḍādhipati* stationed there. In V. 1319 Upādhyāya Abhayatilaka defeated at Ujjain one Vidyānanda of the Tapagaccha and received a *jayapatra*. Should we infer from the absence of any mention of the ruler's name who granted it that the Paramāra rulers had by that become politically insignificant?

Jinaprabodha Sūri (V. 1331-1341) was a contemporary of Mahārāwal Kṣetrasiṁha of Citore. Brahmins, ascetics, the chief among Rājaputras, Kṣetrasiṁha, and Karṇarāja all combined to receive the *acārya* there in 1334. In V. 1337 (the 9th of the dark half of Vaiśākha), he had a similar welcome at Vījāpur (Gujarat) at the hands of the minister Vindhyāditya, Ṭhakkura Udayadeva, and Bhāṇḍāgārika Lakṣmīdhara. Another entry about a celebration in the same town mentions it as the ornament of Gurjaratrā, then ruled over by Mahārāja Sāraṅgadeva, and governed by Mantrin Vindhyāditya, another form as it were of *mahāmātya* Malladeva. In V. 1339, the Sūri had his *caturmāsa* at Sāmyāyana (modern Siwānā) at the request of Mahārāja

12 A manuscript of the *Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga* is dated in V. 1306 in the victorious reign of Udayasiṁha.

13 The earliest date for Cācigadeva known from other sources is V. 1319.

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Soma. In V. 1340 he was received at Jaisalmer by its ruler Karṇa. Both these notices supply important dates for the history of Rājasthān.

The account of Jinacandra Sūri II (V. 1341-1376) similarly gives us some important dates. In the month of Jyaiṣṭha, V. 1342, he consecrated a number of images at Jālor in the reign of Mahārāja Sāmantasiṁha whose chief minister, Dedda, is also mentioned. In V. 1346, Mahārāja Somasiṁha of the Cāhamāna lineage, already mentioned above as the ruler of Sāmyāyana, assisted in the consecration ceremony of an image of Śāntinātha at his capital. In V. 1350 the Sūri initiated Jhanjhana, the *sarvādhikārin* of Baraḍiā. In V. 1356, he went to Jaisalmer at the request of Rājādhirāja Jaitrasiṁha. On the 9th of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa of the same year he had initiations to the accompaniment of musical instruments sent by this Bhāṭī ruler. In V. 1360 when the Sūri returned to Sāmyāyana the throne was occupied by Mahārāja Sātaladeva.[14]

By V. 1364 the conditions even in Western India appear to have deteriorated. In passing from Jālor to Bhīmapallī, the Sūri had to enlist the services of one Durlabha. In V. 1366 when the Sūri started from Cambay, the country was in the grip of a severe famine and overrun by the Muslims who were at the time not far also from Girnār, one of the sacred places of the Jainas. In V. 1367 he again went out on a pilgrimage from Bhīmapallī, in spite of the risk he ran in a part of the country infested by Muslim hordes. On the 10th of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha, V. 1371 he had a religious celebration at Jālor. Then followed the capture of the town by the Muslims, bringing the whole of Sapādalakṣa under them. The date supplied by the *paṭṭāvalī* for the event is definite, and we might on its basis reject the dates given by Mutā Nensī and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar.[15] In V. 1373, the Sūri reached Ucchā in Sindh which too is described as being then in Muslim hands.

A few years later the conditions were better. In V. 1375 a *farmān* from Sultān Qutbuddīn Khilji permitted the Sūri and his disciples to

14 For Soma and Sātala, the rulers of Siwāna, see my account of the Cāhamānas of Siwāna to be published shortly in the *Rajasthāna Bhāratī*.

15 See Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper on the Cāhamānas of Mārwar in *EI.*, XI, pp. 67 ff.

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go on a pilgrimage to Hastināpura and Mathurā. Though Kanyānayana (modern Kanāna) was in Muslim hands, celebrations took place as if it were a Hindu city. Muslim horsemen ensured the pilgrims' safety and everything went on well till they reached Tilpat, a village near Delhi, where the Sultān acting on the information supplied by a backbiter put the whole *saṅgha* under arrest. On investigation the Sūri was found innocent and released. The *saṅgha* continued its pilgrimage to Mathurā. In V. 1376 the Sūri was at Mertā, the capital of Rāna Māladeva who might, we think, be identified with Māladeva Sonigarā, a younger brother of Kānhaḍadeva of Jālor.

Jinakuśala Sūri (V. 1377-1389) succeeded to his position in V. 1377, a year of severe famine in Western India. The Muslims were now the masters of Gujarat; but they did not interfere in any way with the celebrations connected with the Sūri's accession. In V. 1377 one of his disciples, Rāyapati, secured a *farmān* from Bādshāh Ghayāsuddīn permitting the *saṅgha* to proceed on a pilgrimage. It was escorted by Muslim troopers and had now and then the use of the state band. Mahīpāla was at the time the ruler of Saurāṣṭra with Mokhadeva as his minister, a Saurāṣṭra no longer the prosperous province it had once been but almost a desert on account of the Muslim depredations. Dharmasiṁha, a *Kharatara* Jaina, had great influence at Ghayāsuddīn Tughlak's court aud was specially befriended by his chief minister, mentioned in the *Paṭṭāvalī* as Śrī Neb. When the *saṅgha* returned to Delhi after its long pilgrimage, it had a grand reception.

Another *farmān* from Ghayāsuddīn permitted the *saṅgha* to start on a pilgrimage from Bhīmapallī. Even though the Muslims now possessed Cambay, all necessary ceremonies were performed there as if it were a Hindu area. But this was small compensation for the devastation and depopulation that had preceded these comparatively good years. Dispossessed of its legitimate rulers and groaning under the heel of the tyrannical Khiljis Cambay must have sighed for the good old days of its prosperity.[16]

The Vikrama year 1383 was once again of severe famine for Gujarat and Malwa. But the Sūri continued his religious tours as before. In Sindhu he was received well by Hindus as well as Mus-

16 "Though all the territories lay desolate in the absence of their rulers"—The *Paṭṭāvali*.

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lims in the towns of Ucchā, Kayāspur, and Bahrāmpur and given due respect, though the majority of population now probably consisted of non-Hindus. This tolerant attitude can be explained by the presence of Muhammad bin Tughlak on the throne of Delhi.

Jinaprabha Sūri (1390—) was, in 1390, received at Jaisalmer by the Muslims, a fact showing that the town was at the time under Muslim occupation. Perhaps it had remained under them since its capture by the Khiljis. But a part of Rajputana was still under the Rājputs. Bāhaḍmer was in V. 1390 under a Cāhamāna ruler named Śikhara, Satyapura was ruled by another Cāhamāna named Haripāla[17] and Būjadrī by Rājaputra Udayasiṁha. The Sūri went also to the court of Mahārāja Rāmadeva, son of Mahīpāla who might be identified with the ruler of Saurāṣṭra mentioned above.

The *Paṭṭāvalī* comes to an end in V. 1393. One cannot help wishing that this well-dated record could have been continued further. Its side-lights on Cāhamāna history and early Muslim religious policy are specially interesting. It is idle to speculate about the reasons that brought it to this abrupt ending; perhaps it was some calamity or perhaps even nothing more than the death of the last continuer of the record.[18]

DASHARATHA SARMA

17 For an exhaustive account of the Cāhamāna rulers mentioned in the paper see my *'Early Cauhān Dynasties."*

18 For the loan of the manuscript I am indebted to my friend Mr. Agarchand Nahta. See his paper on the subject in the *Hindustani.*

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Dramaturgy in the Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta

Puṣpadanta was the author of three most important Apabhramśa works, viz. *Nāgakumāracariu*,[1] *Jasaharacariu*[2] and *Mahāpurāṇa*.[2] He composed his works at Malkhed or Manyakheta between A.D. 959 and 969 during the reigns of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa kings Kṛṣṇa III (940-968) and his brother Khoṭṭigadeva (968-972). He completed the composition of the *Mahāpurāṇa* in 965.

In the *Mahāpurāṇa* (IV. 18, VI. 5, VI. 7, 8 etc.) Puṣpadanta mentions in brief various poses in dance as well as other terms of dramaturgy. The technical terms have been explained by Prabhācandra in his *ṭippaṇa* (commentary), and their subdivisions enumerated. These have been quoted fully by Dr. Vaidya. He says that the *ṭippaṇa* was composed in Vikrama Era 1080 (Śrī Vikramāditya-saṁvatsare = A.D 1023), i.e. within 60 years of the composition of the *Mahāpurāṇa*. Prabhācandra prepared a collated *ṭippaṇa* on the basis of the original *ṭippaṇa* (probably of Puṣpadanta himself) and the works of Sagarasena.[3]

I have compared the *ṭippaṇa* with Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chowkhamba edition) and find that but for some variant readings, the former substantially tallies with the latter. It would be tedious to give in detail the entire Apabhramśa text mentioned above, the *ṭippaṇa* and the corresponding references in the *NŚ*. (including different readings). Some portion is given in the Appendix as illustrations.

It is evident that Puṣpadanta has taken all the technicalities of dramaturgy mentioned in the text from the prevalent version of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuṇi. The way in which the poet has mentioned the several items of the technique gives an impression of conven-

1 Edited by Dr. Hiralal Jain.

2 Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya.

3 The *ṭippaṇa* was composed in A.D. 1023, when Bhoja was ruling at Dhara. Adverting to the observation of Dr. Hiralal Jain in his edition of *Nāgakumāracariu* that Prabhācandra, a resident of Dhara, wrote during the reign of Jayasiṃhadeva (most probably identical with Jayasiṃha, the successor of Bhoja), Vaidya says that "We must regard that reference to a subsequent copy of the work, perhaps by Prabhācandra himself."

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tional narration. Nevertheless it is well known that the rules have been followed for centuries.

APPENDIX

MAHĀPURĀṆA IV, 18 reads thus:

Cārī vattīsa vi aṅgahāra//
aṇṇaṇṇadehapariṭhavanabhiṇṇu karaṇahamaṭṭhottarusau vi diṇṇu/
Cauddaha vi sisasaṃcālaṇāiṃ bhūtaṇḍavāim raṃjiamaṇāiṃ/
navagīvau ṇayaṇasuhāviāu chattīsa vi diṭṭhiudāviāu/
antimarasavirahia janiyahāva aṭṭhavi rasa sacceyaṇa sahāva/
ekkeṃ ūṇā paṇṇāsabhāva avara vi auvva bhāvānubhāva/
phuraṇaim valaṇaim aṇivāriyāiṃ naccantahiṃ tahi avayārivāiṃ//

The commentary explains *cārī* as *padapracārah*, or leg poses, and it is of thirty-two kinds, viz.

(a) *samapādā, sthitāvartā, sakatāsyā, adhyaradhikā, cāpagatih, vidhyavā, elakā, krīḍitā, baddhā, uruddhṛttā, āditā, ucchaṃditā or jatitā, spanditajinita, apaspanditā, matulī, mattalī* —these sixteen kinds are *Bhauścāryah*;

(b) *atikrāntā, apakrāntā, pārśvakrāntā, ardhajānuh, sūcī, nupurapādikā, dolāpālā, pādā, ākṣiptā, āviddhā, uddhṛtā, vidyudbhrāntā, ālattā, bhujaṅgatrāsitā, hariṇaplutā, bhramarī*— these sixteen are *Kāṁsodbhāścāryah*.

[These are mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chowkhamba edition, Benaras) chapter XI. There are different readings, e.g. in

(a) *Cāṣagatih, vīcyavācā, eḍakā, aḍḍitā, utsyanditā, janitā, syanditā* etc.—*bhūmayah* or *bhaumyah*.

(b) d. r.—*ḍolāpādā, alātā, mṛgaplutā* etc.—these are *ākāśikī* (sl. 13). Daṇḍā in *NŚ*. is omitted in *Ṭippaṇa*]

Aṅgahāra is explained as *aṅgavalanaṃ*, or movements of the body—also of 32 kinds, *viz. sthirahastaka, sūcīviddha, ākṣika, katiccheda, viṣkambha, aparāta, āvrīḍa, bhriścika*—and then *bhramaṇamadādivilasita ityadi vikalpāt*—32.

The following are mentioned in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. IV—(1) *sthirahasta*, (2) *paryastaka*, (3) *sūcīviddha*, (4) *apaviddha*, (5) *ākṣiptaka*, (6) *udghaṭṭita*, (7) *viṣkambha*, (8) *aparājita*, (9) *viṣkambhāpasṛta*, (10) *mattākṛḍa*, (11) *svastika recita*, (12) *pārśvasvastika*, (13) *vṛścika*, (14) *bhramara*, (15) *mattaskhalitaka*, (16) *madavilasita*, (17) *gati-*

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maṇḍala, (18) *parichinna*, (19) *parivṛtta-recita*, (20) *vaiśākha-recita*, (21) *parāvṛtta*, (22) *alātaka*, (23) *pārśvaccheda*, (24) *vidyudbhrānta*, (25) *udvṛttaka*, (26) *ālīḍha*, (27) *recita*, (28) *ācchurita*, (29) *ākṣipta-recita*, (30) *sambhrānta*, (31) *apasarpa* and (32) *ardhanikuṭṭaka*.

(Mentioned in the *Ṭippaṇa*—1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10 (?), 13, 14 (?), 16). There is an English version of chapter IV—*Tāṇḍava lakṣaṇaṃ* by Dr. B. Narayanasvāmī Naidu, 1936.

K a r a ṇ a : *Ṭippaṇa* says: *śarīram anekadhā pratiṣṭhāpya kriyante iti karaṇāni* (the disposition of the body in more poses than one at the same time)—viz. *talapuṣpapuṭaṃ, vartitaṃ, apaviddham, līnaṃ, svastikaṃ, ardhasvastikaṃ, ardhasvastika-recitam, nikūṭakaṃ, alātaṃ, unmattaṃ, lalāṭam, tilaṃ etc.* (*aṣṭottaraśatasamkhyāni*—108 in number). [cf. *NŚ*. chap. IV—There are different readings]

Ś ī r a ḥ s a ñ c ā l a n a : Movements of the head, 14 kinds:

Akampitaṃ kampitaṃ ca dhūtaṃ vidhūtam eva ca/
parivāhitam ādhūtaṃ ācita nikuṃcitaṃ//
...parāhṛtam kliptam cāpyadhogataṃ/
lolitam prakṛtam ceti caturdaśavidham śirah//

[cf. *NŚ*., chap. VIII, ślokas 16-18, described in ślokas 19-35. Variant readings e.g. *utkṣiptaṃ* for *kliptaṃ*; 13 kinds mentioned]

B h r ū t ā ṇ ḍ a v ā n i = *bhrūnṛtyāni*, dancing of the eyebrows, 7 kinds:

ākṣepah pātanaṃ ceva bhrūkūṭiścaturaṃ bhrūboh/
kuṃcitam recitaṃ karma sahajaṃceti saptadhā//

[*NŚ*., chap. VIII, ślokas 114-15, described in 116ff. dr. *utkṣepa* for *ākṣepa*]

N a v a g ī v a u, movement of the neck, nine kinds: *samānatā, ānatā, astā, racitā, kuṃcitā, kaṃcitā, citā, lalitā ca nivṛttā grīvā navavidhā smṛtā*. [For grīvākarmāni, See *NŚ*., chap. VIII, śloka 164—*samā, natā, unnatā, tryasrā, recitā, kuṃcitā, aṃcitā, valitā, nivṛtā*, described in śls. ff.]

D ṛ ṣ ṭ i : Eye-ing, 36 kinds:

Kāntā bhayānikā hāsyā karuṇā adbhutā raudrā vīrā vībhatsā cetyaṣṭau rasadṛṣṭayah;

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Snigdhā hṛṣṭā dīnā kruddhā tṛptā bhayānvitā jugupsitā cetyaṣṭau sthāyibhāvadṛṣṭayaḥ (1 short); *stānpāṃ malinā* (?) *śrāntā salajjā glānā śaṃkitā viṣaṇṇā mukulā abhitaptā jimhalalitā vitarkitā kuṃcitā vibhrāntā viplutā kakikarā* (*avakerā*?) *vikosā, trastā, medirā—ceti saṭtrimśad dṛṣṭayaḥ* (2 short, altogether 3 short)

[*NŚ.*, chap. VIII. śls. 38-81—*rasadṛṣṭayaḥ*—8, *sthāyibhāvajā*—8, *sañcāribhāvajāḥ*—20; total 36.]

Eight Rasas:

Ṭippaṇa

Śṛṅgāra bībhatsā hāsya raudra bhayānakāḥ|
Karunādbhuta śāntāśca...rasā smṛtāḥ||
tatrāṣṭau rasā aṃtimarasavarjitāḥ.

In Dr. S. Mukherji's edition ch. VI, 1926 Rasādhyāya we find

Śṛṅgārahāsyakaruṇā raudra vīrabhayānakāḥ|
bībhatsādbhuta saṃjñau cetyṣṭau nāṭye rasāḥ||

Both mention eight *rasas*, only *vīra* occurs in the place of *śānta* of the *ṭippaṇa*. Dr. Mukherjee points out that the present text of the *NŚ.* is not free from inconsistencies, e.g. although eight *rasas* are mentioned in ch. VI, śl. 15 and in the last śloka, nine are mentioned in ch. XXII. śl. 3 ; further Udbhaṭa quoting the same śloka mentions *nine rasas* including *śānta*, as a separate sentiment, a reading which is followed by Abhinavagupta in his commentary.

Dr. K. C. Pandey says: There were two recensions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, (1) earlier, and (2) later. The first is well reflected in the Chowkhamba edition in which the text on *śānta* does not exist. The other is followed in the G.O.S. edition of the Abhinava Bhārati in which it does exist. Abhinava knew both, but followed the latter. Dhanañjaya (as well as his brother Dhanika) rejects *śama* (and *nirveda*) as *sthāyin*, and holds that *śama* does not admit of dramatic representation. Abhinava still maintains it to be dramatically presentable if the right type of hero is found (see *A-I.O.C.* 12th Session, vol. II pp. 326 ff).

Dr. V. Raghavan in his *Number of Rasas* (Adyar Library, 1940) has successfully proved as interpolation the passages in Bharata that speak of *śānta* as the ninth *rasa*. The first among the writers on poetics to recognise this *rasa* as the ninth was Udbhaṭa, after it had

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acquired a place in the works of the Buddhist and Jain authors like Aśvaghoṣa and the author of *Anuyogadvāra*. *Śānta* is admitted as the ninth *rasa* by the authors of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and *Rasagaṅgādhara*.

Janiyabhāva: *Ṭippaṇa* writes

ratihāsaśca śokasca krodhotsāhau bhayaṃ tathā/
jugupsā vismayaścāṣṭau sthāyibhāvāh prakīrtitāh//
stambha-stanurūhodbhedā (?) hudah svedavepathū/
vaivarṇyaṃ aśrupralaya ityaṣṭau sāttvikā smṛtāh.//

The *ṭippaṇa* futher explains *tanurūhodbheda* etc. The 49 *bhāvas* mentioned in the text are thus made up of *sthāyi*—8, *sāttvika*—8 and *vyābhicāri*—33. [Cf. *NŚ.*—*Tatrāṣṭau bhāvāh sthāyina strayastriṃsa vyābhicārinah aṣṭau sāttvikā etc.*]

In Mahāpurāna VI. 5, we find the following references:

(*a*) *Visaṁgu vi puvvaraṁgu*—i.e. there are twenty limbs (items). The *ṭippaṇa* says—*nāṭakasyeha prathamaprastāvanāvatārah pūrvaraṃgas tasya ca pratyāhāro' vatāranā ādyārambha āśravaṇā gītavidhirūpasthāpanā parivartanaṃ raṅgadvāram cārī mahacāri ityādīni viṃśatiraṁgāni.*

Pūrvaraṅga means the preliminary functions that had to be performed before the actual play of the drama could begin on the stage.

In ch. V. of *NŚ.* are mentioned the nineteen items of Pūrvaraṅga—

(a) the first nine are done within the *yavanikā* (screen), i.e. they are not meant for the spectators, viz. (1) *pratyāhāra*, (2) *avataraṇa*, (3) *ārambha*, (4) *āśrāvaṇā* [up to this given in the *ṭippaṇa*], (5) *vaktrapāṇi*, (6) *parighaṭṭanā*, (7) *saṃkhoṭanā*, (8) *mārgāsārita*, (9) *āsarita* ;

(b) the ten are *vahiryavanikā samsthā*—i.e. meant for spectators viz., (10) *gītaka*, (11) *utthāpana*, (12) *parivartana*, (13) *nāndī*, (14) *suṣkāvakṛṣṭā*, (15) *raṅgadvāra*, (16) *cārī*, (17) *mahācārī*, (18) *trigata*, (19) *prarocanā* [10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 are mentioned in the *ṭippaṇa*] ; 20 however is mentioned in the text. There are different readings.

In Mahāpurāna VI. 5 other items are mentioned:

(b) *tipukkharu—Ṭippaṇa—carmāvanaddham vādyam puṣkaraṃ tat trividham uttama-madhyama-jaghanya bhedena* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXVIII, śl. 2, also ch. XXXIII, śls. 24ff.]

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(c) *solaha akkharau*—T. viz. *ka, kha, ga, gha; ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha; ta, tha, da, dha; ya, ra, la, ha.*

(d) *cau maggu*—4 *mārgas*, T—*ālipta-ardita-gomukha-vitastibhedāt caturmārgaṃ.* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXIII, śls. 40, 44 and 37, 39].

(e) *du-ṭevaṇu*—T. *vāmalepanaṃ, ūrdhvalepanaṃ.*

(f) *chakkaraṇu*—six *karaṇas*. T. *rūpaṃ kṛtaṃ paribhedo rūpaśeṣī udyaśceti ṣaḍ vādyakaraṇāni.* [*NŚ.* There is a corresponding passage].

(g) *tiyatillau*—three *yatis*. T.—*samo śrotogatih go-pucchah ceti triyatiyuktaṃ.*

(h) *tiṭayau*—T. *druta-madhya-vilambitā strayo layāh* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXI, śl. 4].

(i) *tigayau*—T. *tadvāma nutaṃ ugha*(?) *śceti trīṇigatāni* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXIX, śl. 103 *tattvaṃ*, 104 ogham *in Vaiṇava vādya*].

(j) *tiya cāru*—T. *samapracārah viṣamapracāraś-ceti.*

(k) *ti-joya-yaru*—T. *guru saṃyoga, laghusamyoga, guru-laghu saṃyoga.*

(l) *ti-karillau*—T. *gṛhīta, ardhagṛhīta, gṛhīta-muktaśceti.*

(m) *ti-majjanau*—T. *māyurī, ardha-māyurī, karmā-ravī ceti mārjanakam* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXIII, śls. 92-98].

(n) *vīsālaṃkāra-salakkhanau*—T. *alaṃkriyate vādyam yai ste' laṃkārāh prahārā stai salakṣaṇaṃ manojñaṃ ceti viṃśatyalaṃkārāh citrah samah vibhaktah chinnah chinnaviddhah anuviddhah viddhah vādyasaṃśrayah anusṛtah praticyutah durgah avakīrnah vaddhāvakīrnah parikṣiptah ekarūpah niyamānvitah sācīkṛtah samekhalah sāmavāyikah dṛḍhah ceti.* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXIII, prose portion after śl. 183; cf. śl. 41—all these are applicable to *puṣkara, paṇava, dardara,* and *mṛdaṅga*].

(o) *aṭṭhāraha-jāihim maṃḍiyau*—T. *śuddhā dukkaraṇā viṣamaniṣkaṃbhitaikarūpā ca pārśvi-samāparyastā samaviṣamakṛtā vikīrṇā ca paryavasāne citikisaṃyuktā saṃplutā tathāraṃbhā vigatakrama ḍhalaligā vaṃcitikā caikavādyā cetyaṣṭādaśa jātibhir maṇḍitaṃ*—(these are intricate technicalities noticed also in *kaḍavaka* 6). [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXIII, śls. 116 ff.]

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MAHĀPURĀṆA VI. 5. 12: *caccauḍu bhaṇiyaṃ puṇu cācauḍu chappiyaputtu vi manahāri phuḍu.*

Ṭippaṇa—caccauḍu cācaputastryasra strikalatāla-pravṛttihetuḥ.
cācauḍu—cacaputaścaturasra śatuhkalatālapravṛttihetuḥ.
Chappiyaputtevi—sc(?) dhijāputrah(?) kopi miśra ubhayatālapravṛttihetuḥ.

(See also 13). [*NŚ.*, ch. XXXI, śl. 9 mentions *cañcat-puṭa*, *cāpapuṭa*, śl. 10—*caturasrastu vijñeyastālaś-cañcutputo budhaih*; śl. 12—a combination of the two gives *misra tāla*; śl. 13 *ṣaṭpitāputrakaścaiva pañcapānih sa ceṣyate* also śl. 15 for *cañcatpuṭa*, 17 for *caccatpuṭa*, 18 for *cāpaputa*, 19 for *ṣat-pitā-putraka.*] cf. *Varṇaratnākara*, p. 51.

MAHĀPURĀṆA VI. 7:

(a) *Ekuttarutaṃpi*—T.—*catvāriṃśad adhikaśatam ekottaraṃ tathābhi aṣṭādaśajātiṣu yathākramasambhavam eka dvau trayaś catvāri paṃca ṣaṭ sapta cā saṃbhatto* (?) *militā ekottaracatvāriṃśad adhika śatasaṃkhyā bhavati* (i.e. 141)

(b) M.—*Śuddhā bhinnā puṇu vesariya gauḍi sāhāraṇiyā sariya*
T.—*Ūyu*(?) *bhir latai śuddhāh sūkṣmair vyakteśca bhinnakāh/*
svarair hṛtatarair gauḍī hṛtair aveti vesarāh//

(c) M.—*uḍumāna ji māṇavasavaṇa hiya/*
pahilārau ḍhakkarāu kahiu aṇuvekkhā samabhāsahiṃ sahiu//

T.—*ṛtupramānah...teṣu madhye prathamah ḍhakkarāgah. Anu—dvādaśabhāṣāsamanvita uktaṃ ca.*

Kolāhalā mālavavesarā ca saurāṣṭrakā ca śravanodbhavā/
Syān mālavā saindhavikā ca tānā tatahparaṃ pañcamalakṣitā ca//
bhāṣā madhyamadehā ca lalitā vegarañjikā/
Śravaṇā ḍhakkārāgasya dvādaśaitāh//

(d) M.—*aṭṭahiṃ paṃcamu vi payāsiyau vihiṃ vi vihāsahiṃ bhusiyau.*

T.—*Ābhīrī māgadhī saindhavī kauśikī saurāṣṭrī gaurjarī dākṣiṇātyā śravaṇā cetyādi aṣṭabhīr bhāṣābhis sahita; dvābhyām eva vibhāṣābhyāṃ aṃdhālībhāvaṇikābhyām saṃvibhūṣitaṃ* [*NŚ.*, ch. XVIII, for *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*, śls. 35-36]

M.—*hindolau cau bhāsānilau*

T.—*hindolokaś catasṛṇāṃ mālavavesarikā gauḍī/*
chevaṭṭikā kamboji cetyamīṣāṃ nilayasthānaṃ//

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M.—*mālavikesiu duhi bukkiyau avarāhim mi dohīṃ mi aṃkiyau*

T.—*mālavābhyām vibhāṣāb hyāṃ.*

M.—*suddhau sajju vi sattahim kaliu kakuhumi tihim bhāsahiṃ saṃkaliu.*

T.—*bhinnaṣadjo'pi śuddhā travana* (?) *bhāṅgalī saiṃdhavī lalitā śrīkaṇṭhī dākṣīṇātyeti saptabhih bhāṣābhīh kalitah yuktah*

Kakuha—kakubho'pi ābhīrī ragatī bhinnapaṃcamī ceti tribhāṣābhīh.

MAHĀPURĀNA VI. 8

daha cauguṇīyā saṃkhā bhaṇiyā/
bhāsāṇam sā chahahi vibhāsā//
eyāraha dahavara mucchaṇau

T.—*Saḍjādi grāmatraye pratyekaṃ sapta saptamūrcchaṇā ityekaviṃśati, mucchaṃti ucchrayaṃ unnatiṃ labhaṃte...iti mūrcchaṇā, uttaramāṃdrā, uttarāyatā rajanī aśvakrāṃtā sauvīrī kālopanatā sumadhyamā pauravī ityādayah.* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXVIII, śl. 21 ff. especially śls. 27-30]

M.—*ekkuṇavaṇṇasa vi tāna jahiṃ kiṃ vaṇṇami geyāram bhutahiṃ/*
saṃjoyatāna bahudiṇṇarasa Nīlaṃjasa naccai vimalajasā//

T.—*sarasya tananāt prayogavistārāt tānāh agniṣṭoma-rājasūya-aśvamedha-vājapeyādi yajña-nāmānasvahā* (?) *neya puṇyotpaṇṇe, te ca pratigrāmaṃ ekonapañcāsad bhedāh, tathāhi sapta-tantrīvīṇāyāṃ pratyekam ekaikatantryā sapta-sapta-svarāṇāṃ tananāt sapta saptaguṇitā ekonapaṃcāśad grāme tathā madhyamagrāmādāvapī* [*NŚ.*, ch. XXVIII, after śl. 32, prose portion]

M. VI. 8. 8(*b*)

...aṭṭavi raiyau daṃsanagaiu

T.—*aṣṭau paricitā daṃsanagatayah, uktaṃ ca: sammaṃ sappanuvṛttaṃ ca ālokita pralokitollokita teravalokita* (?) *sā tiryak* [*NŚ.*, ch. VIII, śls. 101 ff, *samaṃ, savya* (or *trasryaṃ* or *sācīkṛtaṃ, anuvṛtaṃ etc.*]

M. VI. 8. 9(*b*)...

naṃda payāru phuḍu dāviyau

T.—*navanaṃdās tatprakāram pui* (?) *pakṣma-paṭakarmadarsitam, unmeṣaśca nimeṣaśca prasṛtaṃ kumcitaṃ savartitaṃ sasphuritaṃ pihitam savitāḍitaṃ* [*NŚ.*, ch. VIII, description in śls. 107ff]

M. VI.8. 10

bhūsattabheya parahīyayahara chavvihanāsā kavola ahara

T. for *bhūsattabheya* see above IV. 18. 5—*bhūtāṇḍavāiṃ-saptabhrūnṛtyaṃ*

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tatra nāsā ṣaḍvidhā, uktaṃ ca

natā maṃdā vikṛṣṭā ca socchvāsā saviphurṇitā/
svābhāvikā ceti budhaih nāsikāh smṛtāh/

[*NŚ*., ch. VIII, for *nāsākarma*, śl. 124, *vighūrṇitā* for the 5th, description in śls. 125-130]

T.—*Tathā kapolaṃ ṣaḍvidhaṃ*

kṣāmaṃ phullaṃ ca pūrṇaṃ ca kampitaṃ kuṃcitaṃ
samam ityabhidhānāt

[*NŚ*., ch. VIII, for *gaṇḍakarma*, śls. 130-134]

T.—*Tathā adharah ṣaḍvidhah, taduktaṃ*

vivartanaṃ kampanaṃ ca visargo vinigūhanaṃ /
samdaṣṭakaṃ samudgaśca ṣaṭkarmānyadharaśca //

[*NŚ*., ch. VIII, śls. 135-40]

M. VI. 8, 11 and 12

sattavihu cibuü caü muhahurāya nava gala causaṭṭi vi karaṇabhāya/
solavihu tivihu cauvihu vi kiu karaṇa maggu bhuyu dahavihuvi//

[for *cibuka* see *NŚ*., ch. VIII, śls. 141-47]

T.—*caturmukharāga—kuṭṭaṇaṃ sva* (?) *rāgāh svābhāvika-prasannaśca raktah samarthānurodhatah prayojanavaśāt*. [*NŚ*., ch. VIII, śls. 155-63]

Navagrīvānṛtyāni—See above Mahā. IV. 18.

T.—64 *karaṇabhāva-hastabhedāh*: *patāka, kartarimukha, ardhacandra, ārāla, śukatuṇḍa, khaṭakāmukha, padmakośa, caturaṃgha* (?) *bhramara etc.*

Sarvahastānāṃ soḍasavidhaṃ karma, tathāhi:

ākampanaṃ karṣaṇaṃ ca utkarṣaṇaṃ athāpi ca/
parigraho nigrahaśca āhvānaṃ nodanaṃ tathā//
saṃsleṣaś cadi (?) *yogaśca rakṣaṇaṃ mokṣanṃ tathā/*
chedanaṃ bhedanaṃ caiva sphoṭanaṃ moṭanaṃ tathā//
tāḍanṃ ceti vijñeyam ta (?) *jñeh karma karāśritaṃ/*

[*NŚ*., ch. IX, śls. 157-59]

KALI PADA MITRA

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MISCELLANY

Gauḍa-Kāmarūpa Struggle in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries.

Two powerful states situated side by side were regarded by ancient Indian politicians as natural or potential enemies, while another powerful state situated on the further side of the neighbouring enemy state was called a natural and potential friend. I have elsewhere[1] suggested that such natural enmity existed between the contiguous States of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa in the second half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century, although it was a legacy of the past. The spread of the Gupta era in Kāmarūpa indicated by the Bargaon inscription of Bhūtivarman and the Tezpur inscription of Harjaravarman as well as the adoption of the names of Samudragupta and his queen Dattadevī respectively by the Kāmarūpa ruler Samudravarman and the latter's queen Dattadevī (°vatī) points to the expansion of the political influence of the Guptas over Kāmarūpa. Owing to the weakness of the imperial Guptas in the first half of the sixth century, the kings of Kāmarūpa threw off the yoke of the Guptas as indicated by the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by several of them. These facts point to a struggle between the later members of the imperial Gupta house and the rulers of Kāmarūpa. The struggle appears to have been continued by the Gauḍas who were political successors of the imperial Guptas in Bengal. About the middle of the sixth century, there were, besides Kāmarūpa, three other powerful states carved out on the ruins of the Gupta empire. These were the kingdom of the Gauḍas comprising parts of Bengal and Bihar, that of the Maukharis including parts of Bihar and the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh), and that of the so-called Later Guptas of Mālava (East Malwa).

There is evidence to show that the Gauḍas were enemies of their Western neighbours, the Maukharis, while they were friends of the Later Guptas ruling on the further side of the Maukhari kingdom. About the close of the sixth century the Later Gupta king Mahāsena-

1 See 'The Maukharis and the Later Guptas' in *JRASB.*, vol. XI, pp. 69-74; 'Aśvamedhas celebrated by the kings of Kāmarūpa,' *IHQ.*, vol. XXI, pp. 143-45

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gupta led an expedition against Susthitavarman, king of Kāmarūpa, apparently as an ally of the Gauḍas. About 605 A.D. the Maukhari king Grahavarman was killed fighting against a joint attack of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka and the Later Gupta king Devagupta on the Maukhari kingdom. The Puṣyabhūtis of Thanesar, who were originally friends of the Later Guptas but made friends with the Maukharis after the throne of Mahāsenagupta had passed to Devagupta, now came to the help of the Maukharis. The fact that the Kāmarūpa king Bhāskaravarman, younger son of Susthitavarman, hastened to make friends with the Puṣyabhūti prince Harṣavardhana as soon as the latter came to be the successor of Maukhari Grahavarman seems to show that the treaty was a result of the previously existing friendship between the Maukharis and the kings of Kāmarūpa. The friendship between Harṣa and Bhāskara ultimately resulted in the suppression of the Gauḍas and the Later Guptas of Malwa, although the Later Gupta prince Mādhavagupta who was a son of Mahāsenagupta and a relation of Harṣa seems to have been established in the rule of parts of Bihar where his son carved out a powerful kingdom after Harṣa's death. Bhāskaravarman's success against the Gauḍas is indicated by the fact that he renewed a charter, originally issued by his great-great-grandfather Bhūtivarman, when he was staying at his camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, the very capital of the Gauḍa kingdom. Recently a new episode of the Gauḍa-Kāmarūpa struggle has come to light.

Mr. P. D. Chaudhury, Curator of the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, has earned the gratitude of scholars by publishing the recently discovered Doobi copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, vol. XII, Nos. 1-2, pp. 16-33[2]. As however good impressions of all the inscribed sides of the plates were not published and as there appeared to be doubts about Mr. Chaudhury's reading and interpretation of certain passages of the record, I requested him to send the plates to me on loan for examination of the originals as well as for the preparation of satisfactory impressions for reproduction at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund. Mr. Chaudhury very kindly complied with my request and I have just completed examination of the record.

2 The introductory remarks were published in the same journal, vol. XI, Nos. 3-4, pp. 33-38.

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Several verses on the obverse of the fifth plate of the inscription throw interesting light on the question of the Gauḍa-Kāmarūpa struggle about the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, although they have not been properly read and interpreted by Mr. Chaudhury. I take this opportunity to quote the verses as read by me and to point out their correct import in relation to the struggle between the Gauḍas on the one hand and Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, two sons of Susthitavarman, on the other.

The verses read:

Yāv = etau prathame vayasy = api Pṛthu-prasparddhi[3]*-satv-odgamau*
Śakrāṅśaṁ[4] *vidhinā pragatya pitari kṣm-āntar-nnilīne*[5] *kramāt* [/*]
prāpte Gauḍa-va(ba)le va(ba)liny = api [*ja*]*le*[6] *viśrambha-saṁra*[*ṁ**]*-bhataḥ*
stokair = eva Va(Ba)l-Ācyutāv = iva va(ba)lair = yyau līlay = opasthitau //[7]
tattr = opasthāya yuddhe [*Hari*]*-kuliśa-śitais*[8] *= tūrṇṇam = ā-karṇṇa-pūrṇṇair =*
vvā(bbā)ṇair = Vvā(r = Bbā)ṇ-āsur-ājāv = ajita-bhuja-va(ba)lau[9] *tāv = iv = āvāpta-darppau* [/*][10]
Gauḍānāṁ līlay = aiva pravara-kari-ghaṭāḥ Krauñja(ñca)-śail-āvalī-vad = va(ba)hvīḥ(hvī)s = tā(s = te)ṣām = abhettāṁ hata-vividha-ripūṇāñ = ca[11] *vā(bā)ṇair = yyathā taiḥ*[12] [//*][13]
nānā-sāyaka-śakti-cakkra-kanayaḥ[14]*-prās-āsi-ghātaiḥ śitaiḥ*
kṛitvā vyākula-vihvalaṁ va(ba)lam = aho tat = tūrṇṇam = eva dviṣāṁ-(ṣām //)

3 Chaudhury has not read the letters *sparddhi*.

4 Read *śakr-āṁśaṁ*.

5 Chaudhury reads *kṣmātra(tro)t = nilīne*.

6 Chaudhury reads *sthale* which does not suit the metre.

7 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

8 Chaudhury reads *samākule śaśitai*° which does not suit the metre and offer any sense.

9 Chaudhury has not read the letters *r = Vvā* (*r = Bbā*)*ṇ-āsur-āj āv-ajita*.°

10 Chaudhury reads *bhūmau c = āvāpta*° which goes against the metre.

11 Chaudhury reads *ripū-tikshṇa*, which, if *pu* is substituted for *pū*, does not suit the metre.

12 Chaudhury reads *tau*.

13 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

14 Read *kanaya* which, like *kaṇaya*, *kunaya* or *kuṇaya*, is a doubtful variant of *kaṇapa*, *kaṇapa*, *kunapa* or *kuṇapa*. Chaudhury reads *kanāyaiḥ* which does not suit the metre and the sense.

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tigmais = tac-chara-tomaraiḥ su-va(ba)huśaś = channau hi mohaṅ = gatau[15]

vanyābhiḥ kariṇāṁ ghaṭābhir = ahitai[r] = vyāveshṭya*[16] *c = āsāditau* ||[17]

deśaṁ svakaṁ vidhivaśād = upanītayoś = ca

taiḥ[18] *śatrubhiḥ khalu yayor = guṇa-vattay = aiva* ||*|

prāpya sva-rājyam = acirāt = punar = āgatau tau

pittryaṁ jagad = bhṛiśam = idan = tu nanandatuś = ca ||[19]

There can hardly be any doubt about the interpretation of the verses, although Mr. Chaudhury seems to have missed their real import in spite of the fact that the errors in his reading are not too many. It will be seen from the four verses quoted above from the Doobi inscription of Bhāskaravarman that they refer to a very interesting historical fact. The first stanza refers to the two sons of Susthitavarman, whose names, viz., Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman, are supplied by the preceding portion of the epigraph. It also says that, even when they were young in age, they were valorous like the epic hero Pṛthu and when, in course of time, their father died and the Gauḍa army invaded their country, they were not afraid to give battle, although their own army was insufficient. The two young heroes have been compared to the celebrated epic and Purāṇic personages Bala (i.e. Balarāma-Saṅkarṣaṇa) and Acyuta (i.e. Kṛṣṇa) who had often to fight against heavy odds. The possible use of the word *jale* seems to suggest that the Gauḍa army was strong in naval warfare and that the ensuing battle between the Gauḍas and the two Kāmarūpa heroes took place either in the waters or on the banks of the Brahmaputra. The next verse says that the two young brothers became as full of arrogance as the two heroes (apparently referring to Bala and Acyuta) whose power of arms was unchallenged in their battle against the demon chief Bāṇa, traditionally associated with Tezpur (identified with Bāṇa's capital Śonitapura) in Assam. This may suggest that the battle with the Gauḍas was fought not far from Tezpur. The verse further says that, as the two Kāmarūpa heroes did in the cases of other enemies killed by them on the battle field, in the case of the

15 Chaudhury reads *himelaṅ = gatau*.
16 Chaudhury reads *°r = ahitau vyāveṣṭya* which offers no sense.
17 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīdita*.
18 Chaudhury reads *traiḥ*.
19 Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.

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Gauḍas also, they very easily defeated the latter's huge elephant force with the strength of their arrows. These two verses thus give a valuable information about the invasion of Kāmarūpa by the Gauḍas and the advance of the Gauḍa army in the heart of the Kāmarūpa kingdom shortly after Susthitavarman's death. The next two verses give more interesting information.

The first half of the third verse describes how the heroic fight offered by Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman led to bewilderment and consternation in the rank of the Gauḍas; but the second half of the same verse says that, in spite of their brave resistance, alas, the two brothers were completely covered with the striking arms of the enemies and that, when as a result of that both of them fell into swoon, they were encircled by the fierce elephants of the Gauḍa army and were captured by the enemies. The result of the battle between the Gauḍa and the Kāmarūpa armies, as described in this verse, was thus the latter's defeat and the capture of Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman.

The first half of the fourth verse says how, partly as a matter of luck and partly as a result of the good qualities of the two brothers, they were led back by the enemies to their own country, i.e., Kāmarūpa.[20] This shows that they had been carried away as prisoners by the Gauḍa army and that after some time the Gauḍa king reinstated them in the rule of Kāmarūpa as his subordinate allies. The second half of the same verse states that, when the two brothers, after a very short time, reached or came into possession of their own kingdom, they caused great delight to the land of their father. The exploits of Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman are so described as to indicate that they became joint rulers of Kāmarūpa after Susthitavarman's death. But the description is merely meant to give sufficient importance to Bhāskara, as the following verse, which cannot be read in full, seems to show that he actually ascended the throne after his elder brother's death. The description thus seems to be inspired by the fact that Bhāskara,

20 Another and perhaps a better interpretation of the passage in question is that, as a result of ill luck, the two Kāmarūpa princes were carried by the enemies to the latters' own country, i.e. Gauḍa, but that the brothers succeeded in getting back to their own kingdom, i.e. Kāmarūpa, as a result of their good qualities. The historical implication of the alternate interpretations is, however, the same.

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who was very probably the *Yuvarāja* and exercised considerable influence over the administration of the kingdom during the rule of Supratiṣṭhitavarman, actually shared his brother's capture in the hands of the Gauḍas.

As, according to Chinese evidence, Bhāskaravarman, who is known to have made friends with Harṣa in 606 A.D., continued to rule up to about 650 A.D., these events that happened during his youth may be referred to a date about the beginning of the seventh century or the close of the sixth. The king of Gauḍa who led or sent the expedition against Kāmarūpa after Susthitavarman's death may have been Śaśāṅka himself (who is known to have been on the throne in 605-06 A.D.) or Śaśāṅka's immediate predecessor on the throne of Karṇasuvarṇa.

Another interesting fact about the record under discussion, not noticed by Mr. Chaudhury, is that its seal, unlike the Nalanda seals of Bhāskaravarman,[21] does not mention the name of king Supratiṣṭhitavarman, while, on the other hand, it clearly reads the name of Bhāskara's mother as Dhruvalakṣmī. The closing portion of the legend on the seal reads: *śrī-Susthitavarmmā tena śrī-Dhruvalakṣmyāṁ śrī-Bhāskaravarmm=eti.* The following verse on the reverse of the fourth plate also gives the name of the wife of Susthitavarman and the mother of Supratiṣṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman quite clearly as Dhruvalakṣmī:

Tasya śrī-[Ddhru][va]lakṣmīr=Lakṣmīr=iva lakṣitā*
kṣitau Viṣṇoḥ[/]*
prabhaviṣṇor=bhāryy=ābhud=bhutyai bhrājiṣṇu-cakrasya //

The name of this queen is given as Śyāmādevī in verses 20 and 22 of the Nidhanpur inscription[22] of Bhāskara. The Nalanda seals, it may be pointed out, appear to support the reading of the record under discussion.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

21 H. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material, MASI.*, No. 66, pp. 69-70.
22 Cf. *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvali*, p. 14.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin (Brahmavidya), vol. XIV, pt. 2

B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.—*New Light on "Jayati-Jayate" Controversy*. The question regarding the correctness of the reading *jayati* or *jayate* in the Upaniṣadic motto adopted by the Government has been examined here on the statistical basis of their occurrence in Vedic literature, showing that the forms of the root *ji* in Parasmaipada are of universal usage whereas there are only four or five cases of its Ātmanepada forms.

H. G. Narahari.—*Pādavidhāna of Śaunaka with an anonymous Commentary entitled the Pādavidhānabhāṣya*. The *Pādavidhāna* which is an ancient index of the *Pratīkas* of the *Ṛgveda* is being edited for the first time with an old commentary.

Serial Publications :—

Indian Cameralism : .
Horāśāstra of Varāhamihira.
Edicts of Aśoka.
Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India.
Yājñikyupaniṣad-vivaraṇa.
Vedāntakārikāvalī of Veṅkaṭācārya.

Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), No. 5

R. E. M. Wheeler.—*Archaeological Fieldwork in India : Planning ahead*.

Krishna Deva and Donald E. McCown.—*Further Exploration in Sind*.

Stuart Piggott.—*Sassanian Motifs on Painted Pottery from North-West India*.

V. D. Krishnaswami.—*Megalithic Types of South India*.

B. Ch. Chabra, N. Lakshminarayan Rao and M. Ashraf Husain.—*Ten Years of Indian Epigraphy (1937-46)*.

B. B. Lal.—*Śisupālgarh 1948: an Early Historical Fort in Eastern India*.

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Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,
Vol. XIII, pt. 2

H. W. BAILEY.—*Indo-Iranica III.* An analysis of the nature of several words occurring in Niya Kharoṣṭhī proves the influence of the Indian element in the cultural, specifically the Buddhistic, terminology of Central Asia.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā Kahā I.* The *Kuvalayamālā* is a tale in Apabhraṃśa 'rippling with even waves of Sanskrit and Prakrit words correct and incorrect' composed by Uddyotana in the 8th century. Three extracts are reproduced here from a fragmentary ms. of the work to give an idea of the peculiarities of the language. Uddyotana refers to the four Classical Bhāṣās and supplies specimen words from each of the sixteen Deśabhāṣās out of the well-known Eighteen.

JOHN BROUGH.—*'Thus Have I Heard.'* The stereotyped opening phrase of the Buddhist sūtra texts 'thus have I heard' etc. (Pāli: *evaṃ me sutaṃ*; Sanskrit: *evaṃ mayā śrutam*) is punctuated in the Tibetan versions after 'on one occasion' (Pāli: *ekaṃ samayaṃ*; Sanskrit: *ekasmin samaye*). Thus the following sentence 'the Master was staying at Śrāvastī' (Pāli: *bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati*; Sanskrit: *bhagavān Śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma*) is given as it were in parenthesis.

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
New Series vol. I (Century Volume)

J. Ph. VOGEL.—*Seals of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient India.* The discussion in the paper begins with an account of a small object in burnt clay believed to be a seal excavated long ago at Sarnath. The seal has 'two recumbent deer as supporters' with a legend of two lines in Sanskrit indicative of its connection with the 'Mūlagandhakuṭi' of the Lord. The numerous monastic sealings of later times found at the ancient site of Kasiā of the Gorakhpur district are of historical value, mentioning names of monastic establishments and sometimes indicating times of their existence. A seal of a Buddhist monastery somewhere in the north-west India with a Kharoṣṭhī inscription is regarded as of earlier date.

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E. J. THOMAS.—*Some Linguistic Fossils.* The unsuitability of some English vocables used as equivalents of important Pali terms has been pointed out, and their suitable synonyms have been suggested. The terms discussed here are:—*dhamma*, *bāla*, *nibbāna*, *parinibbāna*, *yāna*.

B. C. LAW.—*Professions and Occupations in Buddha's Time.* Evidence is adduced from Pali literature to show how the people of ancient India lived and worked.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.—*Sādhucaritodaya.* The Note describes an unnoticed Pali poem of 1422 verses of four lines each, composed by Thera Sumedha in the 12th century. The poem contains a number of stories of virtuous men and women.

HELMER SMITH.—*Archaic Verses in Daśabhūmīśvara.*

S. PARANAVITANA.—*Sīgiri, the Abode of a God-King.* The writer of the paper is not inclined to believe the tradition that Sīgiri now in ruins on the summit of a rock in Ceylon was built by Kassapa as a measure of defence against Moggallāna. He finds in the Sīgiri fortress salient features of Alakā and Kailāsa as described in literary works and asserts that Kassapa who proclaimed himself Kuvera on earth intended to make Sīgiri a miniature residence of that God.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XVIII, pt. 4
(January, 1950)

V. SRINIVASAN.—*A History of Alauddin Muhammad, the Khalji Emperor of Delhi (A. H. 695-715/1296-1316 A.D.).* This paper discussing important events of Ala-ud-din's reign and dealing in detail with the activities of his generals, the reforms of his time, the 'Saga' of Chitor, the campaigns of Malik Kafur, the last years of the Sultan and the life and art in the Khalji empire, is concluded here.

K. B. VYAS.—*A Note on the Eighty-four Sub-castes of Gujarati Brahmins.*

M. R. MAJUMDAR.—*Antiquities of Kārvan with reference to Lakulīśa Worship.*

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Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal

(*His works and history*)

Bengal may be proud of the masterly products of the wide study and mature thought of her worthy son Raghunandana, the most eminent of the Smārta scholars that she has ever produced, but the name of the teacher who trained up this mastermind and gave to Bengal Smṛti a new trend with a new spirit which, with modifications, culminated in the works of his worthy pupil Raghunandana, is no longer very familiar to us. This teacher, who is no other than Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīkarācārya, and who was one of the highly esteemed and widely known scholars and authors of mediaeval Bengal, has left behind him a good number of Smṛti works which once created a stir in this province ; but unfortunately, with the exception of the *Tātparya-dīpikā*, *Dāyabhāga-ṭippanī* and *Durgotsava-viveka*, none of his remaining works, though of no little importance for the study of the social and religious history of Bengal, has yet seen the light in printed form. It is, therefore, intended to give an account of Śrīnātha's life and family as well as of his works, which are very often referred to, directly or indirectly, by Raghunandana, Govindānanda and others.

I. *Śrīnātha's Works*

Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, who is most probably to be distinguished from Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa*[1] and the *Dattaka-*

1 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (hereinafter referred to as Mitra, *Notices*), I, p. 183, No. 323; Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*), IX, pp. 1-2, No. 1; Dacca University Mss. Nos. 52A, 4552 and 4494.

In one of the introductory verses of his *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa*, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa says that he wrote the work on the bank of the Gaṅgā (most probably Bhāgīrathī) —श्रीनाथभट्टः सुरनिम्नगातटे कोष्ठीप्रदीपं विदधे विचक्षणः । It is to be noted that besides the name and the residence of the author on the bank of the Gaṅgā, there is nothing in the *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa* which may help us in identifying this Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa with our Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.

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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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The Later Imperial Guptas

(Chronology and political history)

The history of the Imperial Gupta dynasty after Skandagupta still remains obscure. We know the names of several kings of this dynasty from their coins and inscriptions, but nothing is known about their place in the genealogy and the political history of their times. Scholars have been surmising about them and very divergent suggestions have come before us. In the present paper a fresh approach is being made in the light of the recent researches and personal observations.

As early as 1889, we knew of Purugupta, as another son of Kumāragupta I, who had a son Narasiṃhagupta and a grandson Kumāragupta from Bhitari seal. Some seals of Narasiṃhagupta and his son Kumāragupta were found later at Nālandā, testifying to the same fact. But the place of the other kings like Viṣṇugupta, Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta in the genealogy had been unknown till recent date.

In 1941, we came to know for the first time that Viṣṇugupta was the son of Kumāragupta and the grandson of Narasiṃhagupta from a fragmentary seal at Nālandā.[1] From another fragmentary seal from the same site, we added to our knowledge later that Budhagupta was also the son of Purugupta.[2] And recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has discovered that Purugupta was also the father of Vainyagupta.[3] On a fragmentary seal of Vainyagupta, he has noticed at the place of his father's name some remnant of the *mātrā U*, which gave clue that his father's name was *Ukāranta* and that he can be no other than Puru.[4]

1 *JNSI.*, vol. III, pp. 103-4. 2 *IHQ.*, vol. XIX, p. 272.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. XXIV, p. 67.

4 Besides Puru, Viṣṇu and Bhānu are two other Gupta kings, having *Ukārānta* names. The question of Viṣṇugupta being father of Vainyagupta

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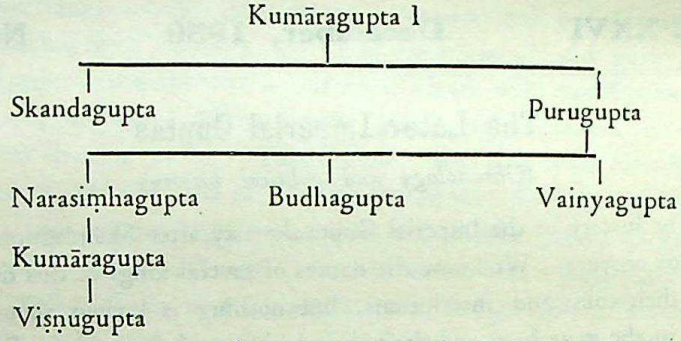
But nothing is yet known about Bhānugupta. We cannot at present say definitely if he really belonged to this imperial lineage.

However, we have now a definite genealogy of the later kings of the Imperial Gupta dynasty as follows:



And the following dates are known for these kings from various sources:

Skandagupta	136, 137, 138 G.E.	Junagarh Inscription
	141 G.E.	Kauhum (Gorakhpur) inscription
	141 G.E.	Supia (Rewa) inscription
	146 G.E.	Indore (Bulandshahar) inscription
	148 G.E.	Silver coins of eastern fabric.
Kumāragupta	154 G.E.	Sarnath inscription
Budhagupta	157 G.E.	Sarnath inscription
	159 G.E.	Rājghāt (Banaras) Pillar Inscription
	163 G.E.	Dāmodarpur copper plate
	165 G.E.	Eran inscription
	175 G.E.	Silver coin
Vainyagupta	188 G.E.	Gunaighar inscription
Bhānugupta	191 G.E.	Eran stone pillar inscription

This genealogy and the dates apparently show that after Skanda-

has been well discussed by Dr. Majumdar and the probability is out of question. But the dates of Bhānugupta and Vainyagupta are so close to each other that the possibility of Bhānugupta being the father of Vainyagupta may be suggested. But the known date of Vainyagupta is earlier than the known date of Bhānugupta. Father succeeding son is not known. Father and son ruling simultaneously, one in the east and the other in the west is a remote possibility, particularly in this case. Therefore it is almost certain that Purugupta was the father of Vainyagupta.

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gupta and Purugupta if he ruled at all,[5] Narasiṃhagupta, his son Kumāragupta and his grandson Viṣṇugupta ruled first. Then after Viṣṇugupta, for whatsoever reasons, the throne reverted to his grand uncle Budhagupta and he passed it to Vainyagupta. And after him came Bhānugupta, whose relation with any of these kings is not known at present. But the rule of four kings—Purugupta, Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta—within the short period of nine or ten years (i.e. between 148 G.E., the last known date of Skandagupta

5 No inscription or seal of Purugupta has been discovered so far. A gold coin, which was originally in Dr. W. Hoey's collection and is now in British Museum, was attributed to this king by Mr. J. Allan (*BMC.*, p. 134). It was noticed by him that the coin on the obverse has under the king's left arm the word *Pura* and on the reverse the *viruda Sri Vikramah*. Some other coins, which have *Sri Vikramah* but no name on the obverse, were also attributed to this king (*ibid.*) Sri S. K. Saraswati pointed out that on this coin, the letter which is read as *pu* has a horizontal line over it. If the horizontal line be taken as the part of the latter, it is possible to read it as *Bu*. *Ra* on the coin is rather unusually broad and it is possible to take it as *Dha* (misshapen). So it was suggested by him that the coin belonged to Budhagupta. (*IC.*, I, 691-92). But then his views were not taken seriously. Recently Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras and the Banaras Hindu University have acquired coins which have the name *Budha* very clear and the coins are the same as that in British Museum (*JNSI.*, X, p. 78). Now there is no doubt that Dr. Hoey's coin is too of Budhagupta and as such the other nameless coins also do not belong to Purugupta. R. D. Banerjee had referred to two other gold coins found in Gaya district as the coins of Puragupta. He maintained that the name Pura was very clear on these coins (*ABORI.*, vol. I, p. 75). According to him these coins were in the collection of Diwan Bahadur R. K. Jalan of Patna. To vouchsafe his statement Dr. R. C. Majumdar examined the Jalan collection, but he could find no such coin in it. Later on I also examined the collection and came to the same conclusion. But on one of the envelopes of the coins of the nameless type, that was attributed by Allan to Puragupta, was written in green ink *Puraha* with an interrogation. Most likely this was written by Banerjee (I am told, he was fond of green ink, and he used it all along his life) and he read the marginal legend as *Puraha* and while he made *Pura* as the name of the issuer, he could not make out anything out of *ha* so he put the interrogation. And most likely to this he referred to in his said paper, and attributed the coins to Puragupta. But the legend which has been read by him as *Puraha* is in fact *parahi*, the part of *parahitakāri* of the legend *Parahitakāri Rājā jayati divam Sri Budhaguptah* of which only fragments are found on the coins of the type in discussion. Therefore, there is no coin of Purugupta. And as such there is no evidence of his rule.

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and 157 G.E. the earliest known date of Budhagupta) is a remote possibility.[6]

So, it has been suggested by some of the scholars that there were two Kumāraguptas, one of Sāranāth inscription and the other of Bhitari seal. The later ruled very late. The chronology in the light of this suggestion would be different from that described above. In this case, after Skandagupta and Purugupta, ruled Kumāragupta (of Sārnāth inscription), who might in this case be either the son or brother of Skandagupta or another son of Purugupta. After him the throne passed to Budhagupta, Vainyagupta and Bhānugupta, one after the other; and later Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta (of Bhitari seal) and Viṣṇugupta came to the throne. Bhānugupta may also, in this case, be taken as the successor of Viṣṇugupta; but then the period for the three rulers Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta between 188 and 191 G. E. would be too short, which is not likely.

The probability of the existence of two Kumāraguptas, apart from the arguments put forth by the scholars, having this view, is also borne out by the numismatic evidences, to which no attention has been given so far in this connection. The coins of Vainyagupta, Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta are known solely from one source i.e. Kālighat hoard. It shows that they were successive rulers. Apart from this a few coins of Kumāragupta, which are in British Museum and are assigned to Kumāragupta II are from other sources. If we examine the coins of Kumāragupta from Kālighat hoard and the coins in British Museum from other sources, we shall notice that these two are distinctly of two fabrics; and accordingly they have been already classified separately by Mr. Allan in his Catalogue. The coins of Kālighat hoard are placed under class II and the others are placed under class I[7]. Apart from the fabric, the coins of these two

6 If Purugupta did not rule, as appears from the above note, then Narasiṃhagupta got a fair period of 4 or 5 years to rule before 154 G.E. The period after him till 157 G.E. is too short to accommodate Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta. But it may be pointed out that we know kings like Kācagupta, Rāmagupta and Ghaṭotkacagupta as short reigns at intervals in this dynasty. Here the case may be similar, after the troublous reign of Skandagupta, to the Mughal dynasty after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir. But other facts do not leave any ground for any such surmises.

7 *BMC.*, pp. 140-143.

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classes have two other distinctions. While the coins of class II have a letter *ga* or *ja* between the feet of the king, it is conspicuously absent from the coins of class I. If we look to the coins of Vainyagupta, Narasiṃhagupta and Viṣṇugupta, we shall there also find the letters *bha*, *gu* and *ru* respectively between the feet of the king. On the other hand if we examine the coins of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta and Budhagupta, we shall notice the lack of any such letter between the feet of the king[8]. This means that there was no practice of having the letters between the feet before Vainyagupta. As such it can be well concluded that the coins of class I of Kumāragupta are of a different king than that of the coins of class II. One was ruling in the period when this peculiarity was not introduced and the other when it did. And so it may be inferred that the coins of class I are the coins of Kumāragupta of Sārnāth inscription and the coins of class II of Kumāragupta of Bhitari seal.

It is to be further noticed that the coins of Kumāragupta of class I has the legend on the reverse *Kramāditya* while the coins of class II have *Śrīkramāditya* on the reverse. We know that the *virudas* of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta were *Vikrama* and *Mahendra* respectively. But on no coins we find these *virudas* without any prefix or suffix. This means that they had an uniformity in the inscription of their *virudas*. We find Skandagupta omitting the prefix *Śrī* on his coins that have the *viruda Kramāditya* on the reverse; but he too maintained this uniformity on all his coins in inscribing the *viruda*. But on the coins of Kumāragupta we find the *viruda* written in two different ways and that too on the coins of two different fabrics. It is not without significance. The coins of class I have simply *Kramāditya* and follow Skandagupta. In doing so there was no harm as the two Kramādityas could easily be identified by their names on the obverse. But when we find *Śrīkramāditya* on the coins of class II, it tells a different story. Two kings had the same name and the same *viruda*. It is very likely that the later Kumāragupta adopted the same *viruda* of the earlier king of his own name, for the sake of similarity; but to avoid the confusion in the identification of the two, he had added the prefix *Śrī* to his *viruda*.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 144, 145

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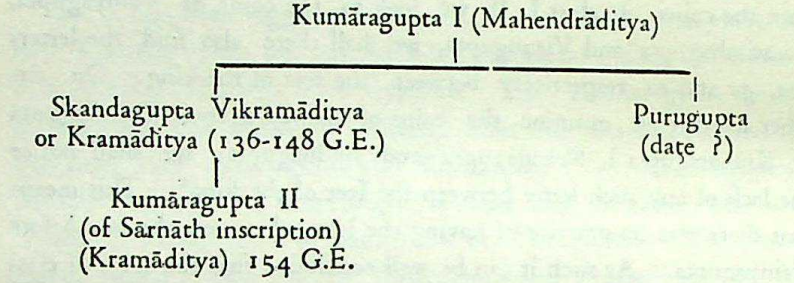
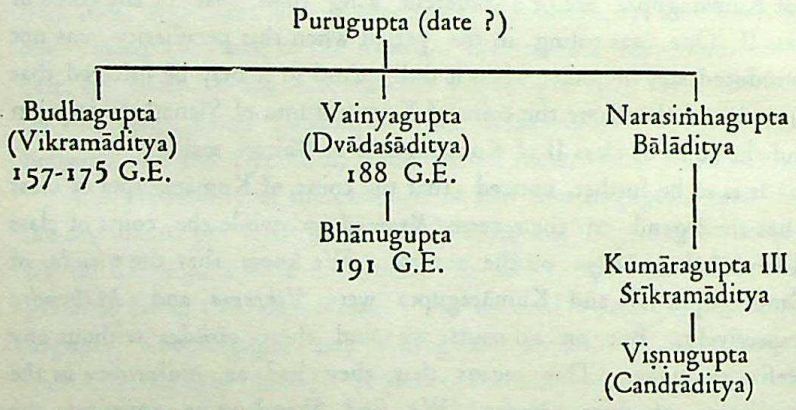
In view of this, the existence of two Kumāraguptas seems positive and we can now have the chronology as follows:





In the light of this chronology, now let us examine the political history of this period.

From Bhitari pillar inscription, we know that the prince Skandagupta saved his father's kingdom from total destruction at the hands of the Puṣyamitras, who were probably the first waves of the Huṇas. It is also almost certain that after becoming emperor, he had again defeated the second waves of the Huṇas and saved Northern India from the ravages of the barbarians; but whether he could maintain the whole territory of his father is very doubtful. From Junāgarh inscription we know till 136-38 G.E. he had his kingdom extended upto Saurāṣṭra in the west. But his later inscriptions are confined to only Uttara Pradeśa and Behar. His dated inscriptions were found at the following sites:

Kauhum in Gorakhpur district dated 141 G.E.
Supia in Rewa State dated 141 G.E.
Indore (Bulandshahar) dated 146 G.E.

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The other two known inscriptions, which are undated, are from Bhitari in Ghazipur district (Uttara Pradeśa) and Behar in Patna district.

His silver coins give us the latest date 148 G.E. These coins are of eastern fabric and on them we do not find any of his imperial titles like *Paramabhāgavata*, *Mahārājādhirāja*[9], which we find on the coins of western fabric[10]. On the early issues of his gold coins, we have the legend *Jayati Mahītalam Skandagupta sudhanvī*[11], but on his later coins we have the simple legend *parahitakāri rājā jayati divam Śrī Kramādityah*[12]. His claims of royalty as well as of valour is conspicuously absent from these coins and we find him only a humble *rājā*, the benefactors of others. This modesty must have some significance and that could only be that he was now no more a emperor and had lost his imperial authority over a great part of his father's empire. He was now a ruler of the territory that was confined upto Eastern Mālvā in the west.

This is also borne out by the Mandasor inscription of Bandhuvarman. While it mentions Kumāragupta I as the ruler of that land in 493 Mālava era (117 G.E.), it ignores the ruling king of the Gupta dynasty in 529 M.E. (153 G.E.).

This contraction of the empire may not necessarily mean the Huṇa usurpation of the territories. It was most probably the result of the feudatories becoming independent, at a time when Skandagupta would have been busy, after the victory over Huṇas, in consolidating his powers in the centre. We know the Maitrakas had carved their kingdom in Kathiawar peninsula with the capital at Valabhi. Its founder Bhaṭṭāraka was the general of the Gupta empire. He grew to be an important chief of Saurāṣṭra and was in a position to bequeath his dominion to his son. Though he and his son Dharasena do not claim the royalty for themselves and content themselves with the title of *Senāpati*, still that they enjoyed the royalty is clear from their coins. No

9 *BMC.*, p. 129.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 119.

11 *Ibid.*, The legend is incomplete on the B.M. coins. In Bayānā hoard, we have some coins of Kumāragupta I, which have the legend *jayati mahitalam Kumāraguptah sudhanvī*. I think the legend on the coins of Skandagupta on which *jayati mahitalam* and *sudha* has been identified, follows the above legend.

12 The legend on this type of coin was tentatively identified by Mr. Allan (*BMC.*, intro. cxxi). But after a careful study of a number of coins in private and public collections I can say that Mr. Allan's identification is correct.

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doubt the latter's brother Droṇasiṃha called himself *paramabhaṭṭāraka pādānudhyāta*; but that does not necessarily mean the recognition of the suzerainty of the Gupta kings. It was most likely in the nature of political camouflage, a parallel to which we find in the Mughal history. When that empire was dwindling, the independent rulers issued the coins in the name of Shah Alam II instead of their own.

In Mālvā, we find Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena claiming the command.[13] He had smashed the power of the Nalas ruling in Chatisgarh and Baster state[14] and it is quite likely that he might have annexed the territory over which the Gupta feudatories of the Varman dynasty were carrying on the administration. This might have happened some time between 493 and 529 M.E., and it is pointed out in Bandhuvarman's Mandasor inscription. It is clear from it that at the later date western Mālvā ceased to remain under the Guptas and most likely it was occupied by the Vākāṭakas; but till then Bandhuvarman was in a fix about the recognition of the Vākāṭaka lordship and going out of the Gupta subordination. And most likely that is why he did not mention any name as his lord.

Then we find the Parivrājakas ruling during this period in the south-east of the Eraṇ territory. Many grants of this dynasty has come to light, but none of them mention the name of the Gupta kings. The mere mention of the phrase *Gupta-nṛpa-rājya* does not show their subordination to the Guptas. They might have been feudatories earlier and now after becoming independent they continued the Gupta era, in continuation of the current practice like the Maitrakas. Contiguous to the Parivrājaka kingdom was another kingdom with Ucchakalpa as the capital. There is no reference to the Gupta kings in their inscriptions, and it appears that they did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Guptas.

These show that by the time the reign of Skandagupta came to an end these kingdoms formed the boundary of his diminished kingdom in the west. But before more could be said on this point, the history requires a great scrutiny.

Let us now revert again to the Guptas. After Skandagupta came Kumāragupta II (of Sārnāth inscription) to the throne, but little is

13 *El.*, IX, 271.
14 *New History of the Indian people*, vol. VI, p. 118.

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known of him. His achievements and failures are in oblivion, but the inscriptions of his successor Budhagupta were found at Dāmodarpur and Pāhārpur in Bengal, Nālandā in Behar, Sārnāth (Banaras) and Eraṇ in the Eastern Mālvā. This shows that his kingdom comprised of Bengal, Behar, United Provinces and the Eastern Mālvā. As such we can well infer that these territories were intact in the time of his predecessor Kumāragupta II as well.

Vainyagupta succeeded Budhagupta. The coins of Kālighat hoard, the Gunaighar inscription and the Nālandā seal are clear evidences for the rule of Vainyagupta over Gauḍa and Magadha. But if he ruled beyond that land, we have no conclusive proof. We have an inscription at Eraṇ of the time of Bhānugupta. If he was the member of his family and his successor, we can then well infer that his kingdom extended upto that place.

The inscription of Bhānugupta tells us about a battle wherein his general Goparāja was killed. This happened in 191 G.E. We are not sure who this enemy was, but the two inscriptions of the Brāhmaṇa Dhanyaviṣṇu at Eraṇ give some clue to it. From one we know that he and his brother Mātriviṣṇu erected a *Dhvajastambha* of the god Janārdana in 165 G.E. when Budhagupta was ruling over that land[15]. The second inscription records the dedication of the image of Varāha by the same Dhanyaviṣṇu, after the death of his brother Mātriviṣṇu in the first year of the conquest of Mālvā by the Huṇa king Toramāna.[16] These show that the conquest of Mālvā by Huṇas took place within one generation of the dedication of Dhvaja-stambha by Dhanyaviṣṇu. If we now look to the Eraṇ inscription of Bhānugupta dated 191 G.E., it may be reasonably presumed that the battle at which his general was lost was no other than against this Toramāna. Most likely Bhānugupta was defeated in this battle and Eraṇ territory formed part of the Huṇa kingdom henceforth.

Now the Gupta kingdom was reduced further and now remained confined to Magadha and Gauḍa. Narasiṃhagupta, the successor of Bhānugupta, is known from his coins in Kālighat hoard and his seal and coin-mould at Nālandā. He is known as Bālāditya on his coins. We are informed by Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula, the Huna king, invaded the territory of the king of Magadha named Bālāditya, but he

15 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 89. 16 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

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was taken prisoner at the hands of the latter, and was released only at the request of the captor's mother. It seems that Mihirakula, son of Toramāna, invaded the Gupta kingdom during the reign of Narasiṃhagupta, but was defeated.

The successors of Narasiṃhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Viṣṇugupta, too are known from the various sources from which we knew of Narasiṃhagupta. This shows that they too were confined to the same area of Magadha and Gauḍa.

The dates of these three kings are not known to us. But we have a copper plate inscription found at Dāmodarpur which is dated 224 G.E. in which the letters, which contain the name of the king is missing[17]. Basak, who has edited this inscription, suggests Budhagupta[18]. But in the light of the known genealogy referred to above, it is now untenable. The other suggestions had been of Kumāragupta and Viṣṇugupta. Either of them may be the possible king of the inscription ruling at this period; but I do not wish to commit myself in favour of one or the other at this moment.

After Viṣṇugupta nothing is known about the Gupta dynasty;[19] but probably they continued their rule for some time more, of which we have no record.

All this makes us to conclude that the Gupta empire diminished at two different times—(1) at the time of Skandagupta when it lost the territories west of Eraṇ and then (2) at the time of Bhānugupta, when he lost the battle at Eraṇ. Since then the kingdom was confined to Magadha and Gauḍa. It also makes clear that there were no two rival independent off-shoots of the dynasty ruling over Magadha and Mālvā concurrently as was believed so far.

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17 *E.I.*, XV, p. 142. 18 *Ibid.*

19 *Āryamañjuśrimūlakalpa* gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as *Bālākhya-kumāra-ukārākhya-deva* (Vs. 671-76). Of this Bālākhya and Kumāra can easily be identified with Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya and Kumāragupta III. *Ukārākhya* is most likely meant for Viṣṇugupta. If the identity is correct then on this authority, we may add to the chronology Devagupta as the successor of Viṣṇugupta, and he may be identified with Devabhaṭṭāraka of the Dāmodarpur inscription, just described above, who appears to have been the emperor's son made Governor of the *bhukti Puṇḍravardhana*—पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन भुक्तावुपरि [क-महाराज]स्य [गहा*] राजपुत्र देवभट्टारक (lines 2-3).

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Origin of the Guhilots: were they Nagar Brāhmaṇs?

The 'Guhilot' or 'Gehlot' the present ruling dynasty of Mewar claims to be one of the oldest ruling families of the world which despite many ups and downs of fortune continues to rule over this territory for about fourteen centuries. Unfortunately, the origin and early history of the 'Guhilots' like that of many other dynasties of northern India are shrouded in mystery. No genuine records of reliable history have yet been discovered and for a correct genealogy or facts about the founder of this clan, one has to depend upon a series of inscriptions which in their dates provide some fixed points for a bewildered historian groping into the dark in his quest for truth.

Even the generic name of the clan to which this dynasty belongs has seen many a transformation from time to time. The term Guhilot or its popular form 'Gehlot' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Guhilaputra' recorded in an inscription of 1278 A.D[1] found at Chitor wherein 'Simha' one of the early rulers of Mewar is called 'Guhilaputra'. It is just probable that the term 'Guhilaputra got in course of time transformed into 'Guhil-ut' which further got softened as 'Guhilot' or 'Gehlot'. Other variants used for the dynasty such as 'Gobhila-putra'[2], 'Guhilot-anvaya'[3] or Gauhilya Vaṁśa[4] are also found on stones belonging to 13th to 15th centuries of the Christian era. Whichever form we may prefer this much is certain that all these names refer to one family which takes its name from 'Guhil'. The name of this founder is also written in various forms such as 'Guhadutta' in Aitpur and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions, 'Guhaditya' in the Raj Samandra Praśasti, 'Guhadit' in Nansi's Chronicle or 'Grahditya' as in the epigraph of Rawal Punja of Dungarpur.

Of the origin of the Guhilots, two accounts have been given by Tod,[5] one traditional and the other taken from the Muhammadan

1 *Bhawnagar Ins.*, p. 75: '····क्षत्रिय गुहिलपुत्र सिंहलब्धमहोदयाः'

2 *Epi. Ind.*, pp. 11-12: "अस्ति प्रसिद्धमिह गोभिलपुत्रगोत्रं"।

3 *Ibid.*, vol. 41, p. 119. 4 *Bhawnagar Ins.*, pp. 74-75.

5 Tod: *Annals & Anti. of Raj* (Crooke) vol. I, chapters 2 & 3.

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accounts. The first deduces the pedigree from Sumitra the last of the Solar race and connects the dynasty with the last Valabhi prince, 'Śīlāditya'. The second, i.e. the Muhammadan account suggests a connection between the family and the Sassanian kings of Persia. Abul Fazl[6], the only authority who holds this view says that the Rāṇā pretends a descent from Nosherwan, the just. But it is by no means clear on what evidence this assertion is based. Crooke[7] says there is no real evidence of the Persian descent of the Rāṇās'. Tod's account tracing the descent of the Rāṇā's family from Śīlāditya the last prince of Valabhi, also does not stand the test of the epigraphic evidence and chronological consideration.

Among the modern scholars Dr. G. H. Ojha[8] and C. V. Vaidya[9] are of opinion that the Guhilots are Kṣatriyas of the Solar race. They rely in the first place, on the disc of the Sun found on the obverse of a gold coin which is ascribed to Bappa. Secondly, the family has been referred as 'Raghuvaṁśa' or 'Kṣatriya' in a number of epigraphs, the oldest being of 971 A.D. of Rājā Narvahan's times.

There is yet a third theory propounded by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[10] who holds that the Guhilots were originally Nagar Brāhmiṇs, who were of foreign origin. He also expresses the view that 'the Mewar and the Valabhi dynasties were somehow connected,' that the Guhilots were Nagar Brāhmiṇs and the Nagar Brāhmiṇs were Maitrakas', and therefore the Mewar and Valabhi dynasties descended from the one and the same foreign tribe. As Dr. Bhandarkar's theory of the Nagar Brāhmiṇ origin of the Guhilots is the most accepted view among the scholars of our time[11], it is necessary to examine it in detail.

This theory of Dr. Bhandarkar is based on the following arguments: —

1. The stone inscription dated 1274 A.D[12] found at Chitor

6 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. Tran. by Jarrett) vol. II, p. 268.
7 Tod (Crooke): vol. I, p. 278 ft. note.
8 Dr. G. H. Ojha, *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I, pp. 369-388.
9 C. V. Vaidya, *Hist. of Medieval Hindu India*, vol. II, pp. 330-33.
10 *JASB.*, 1909, p. 167.
11 Crooke: *Tod, Annals & Anti. of Raj.*, vol. introduction; A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 8-9.
12 *Bhawanagar Ins.*, p. 75.

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distinctly mentions Bappa, a notable ruler of the Guhilot family as a Brāhmiṇ (Vipra) hailing from Anandpur[13].

2. A stone inscription found in a "Maṭha' at Abu and dated 1285 A.D.[14] describes Bappa as having exchanged his priestly splendour for regal lustre with his preceptor Harit Rashi[15]. This according to Dr. Bhandarkar is a clear proof of Bappa's origin as a Brāhmaṇ.

3. The *Ekaliṅgāmāhātmya* of Rāṇā Kumbha's time (1433-68 A.D.) which describes the genealogy of Nagar Brāhmiṇ family of Vaijvāpa' *gotra* emigrated from Anandpur, includes the names of Guhila and Bappa among its members.

4. Rāṇā Kumbha's commentary on Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* entitled 'Rasik Priya' speaks of Bappa as a 'Dvija' of Baijvapa *gotra*. Bappa must, therefore, have belonged to the Brāhmaṇ caste.

5. It is a settled fact that the *gotra* of the Guhilot family is Vaijvapa. The Nagar Brāhmiṇs belong to this very *gotra*. Hence the early Guhilots must have been treated as Nagar Brāhmiṇs.

6. There exists epigraphic evidence to show that the Guhilots considered themselves Brāhmaṇ much earlier than the inscriptions referred to above. The earliest inscription recording this fact is known as the Aitpur Praśasti dated 977 A.D.[16] In verse 6 of this record Guhadatta is called 'Mahīdeva', i.e., a Brāhmaṇ.

7. An undated inscription of Bālāditya a Guhilot prince of Chatsu (in Jaipur district of Rajasthan) composed probably in the latter part of the 10th century compares Bālāditya's ancestor named Bhartṛbhaṭṭa with Paraśurām who was a Brāhmiṇ but well versed

13 जीयादानंदपूर्वं तद्दिह पुरमिलाखंडसौंदर्यशोभि
क्षोणीपृष्ठस्थमेव त्रिदशपुरमधः कुर्व्वदुच्चैःसमृद्धया ।
यस्मादागत्य विप्रश्चतुरुदधिमहीवेदिनिक्षिप्तयूपो
(बप्पाख्यो) वीतरागश्चरणयुगमुपासीत (सिष्ट)हारीतराशेः ॥

14 *Indian Anti.*, vol. XVI, pp. 347.

15 हारीतात्किल बप्पकोंहि(घ्रि)बलयव्याजेन लेभे महः ।
क्षात्रं धातृनिभादितीर्य मुनये ब्राह्म खसेवाश्लात् ॥
एतेष्वापि महीभुजः क्षितितले तद्वंशसंभूतयः ।
शोभन्ते सुतरामुपातवपुषः क्षात्रा हि धर्मा इव ॥

16 *Ind. Anti.*, 1910 vol. 39, p. 191. Verse 6; see the text on p. 4.

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in the martial activities of a Kṣatriya[17]. King Bhartṛbhaṭṭa must therefore have been a Brāhmiṇ by caste.

8. The Brāhmiṇ origin of the Guhilots was not forgotten even as late as the 19th century as is clear from Nansi's Chronicle of the 17th century and from a Persian history entitled 'Tawarikh-i-Malwa' composed by one Munshi Karimuddin in the 19th century.

A critical examination of the above arguments reveal the untenability of the theory.

The first and second arguments are based on the two inscriptions which did not for the first time record the origin and genealogy of the Guhilots. These were written by one and the same person, named Vedaśarmā, who was a Nagar Brāhmiṇ of Chitor. He seems to have borrowed his information from the well known Aitpur inscription dated 977 A.D.[18] The Aitpur record giving an account of Guhila writes as follows: —

आनन्दपुरविनिर्गतविप्रकुलानन्दो महीदेवः ।
जयति श्रीगुहदत्तः प्रभवः श्रीगुहिलवंशस्य ॥

i.e. "triumphant is Mahīdeva Sri Guhadatta who was (the cause of) delight to the Brāhmiṇ family come from Anandpur and who was the founder of the illustrious Guhila race".

Dr. Bhandarkar translates the word 'Mahīdeva' as 'Brāhmaṇ' whereas it may mean a 'Kṣatriya' also as its literal meaning is 'Lord of the earth."[19] Moreover, had the writer considered Guhadatta a Brāhmiṇ he would not have written that he was a Brāhmaṇ and a source of delight to the Brāhmaṇa family. In other words, if the author meant 'Brāhmaṇ' by 'Mahīdeva', it would be a superfluous duplication. Secondly, the sixth verse of this very Aitpur inscription extols Rājā Narvahan a descendant of Guhila as a victorious Kṣatriya Rājā.[20] Moreover, the verse in question simply says that 'Mahīdeva' Guhadatta was the cause of delight to the Brāhmaṇ family of Anandpur. The qualifying phrase आनन्दपुरविनिर्गतविप्रकुलानन्दो in

17 ब्रह्मक्षत्रान्वितोऽस्मिन्समभवदसमे रामतुल्योविशल्यः ।
सौ(शौ)र्याढ्यो भर्तृभट्टो रिपुभटविटपच्छेदकेलीपटीयान् ॥५॥
Epi. Ind., vol. 12, p. 13. 18 *Ind. Anti.*, 1910 vol. 39, p. 191 verse, 6.
19 The word 'Deva' as synonym for 'Raja' is used many times in dramas and epics. 20 *Ind. Anti.*, vol. 39, p. 191.
अविकलकलाधारो धीरः स्फुरद्विलसत्करो विजयवसतिः क्षत्रक्षेत्रं क्षताहतिसंहतिः ।
समजनि जना.....प्रताप तरूद्भुतो विभवभवनं विद्यावेदी नृपो नरवाहनः ॥६॥

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no way gives the sense that Guhadatta himself belonged to that Brāhmaṇ family from Anandpur for whom he became a source of delight. To be a source of delight to a family is quite a different thing from belonging to it. It is not clear, therefore, that on what basis has Dr. Bhandarkar regarded Guhadatta as belonging to the Brāhmaṇ family from Anandapur and interpreted the term 'Mahīdeva' to mean a 'Brāhmaṇ' whereas the word means only the 'lord of the earth' as referred to above.

Anandpur has been identified on irrefutable grounds by Dr. Bhandarkar as Vaḍnagar. Now that in the traditional legends about Guhil's birth and parentage recorded by almost all the bardic Khyats including that of Nansi, it is clearly asserted that Guhil was left in the hands of a Nagar Brāhmaṇ family[21] of Vaḍnagar who brought him up and remained attached to the prince and his descendants as their 'Purohits' or preceptors.[22] It becomes then almost certain that the Brāhmaṇs from Anandpur mentioned in the verse of the Aitpur record refer to the same Purohita family, connected with Guhil as his foster parents who were in a way the saviours of the line. The Samoli inscription of the reign of Śīlāditya the fifth descendant of Guhil dated 646 A.D. in the opening lines describes Śīlāditya as a 'Narapati', a conqueror of enemies and cause of delight to the God, Brāhmaṇ and

21 The traditional bardic accounts, recorded by Col. Tod and others of Guhil's birth and parentage are as follows:—Guhil's father (the name is wrongly given as Śīlāditya) ruled over Bansala or Bilbilpur Pattan, a place in Saurāṣṭra where he met his death at the hands of the barbarians from the north. His queen Puṣpavatī, being pregnant had gone on a pilgrimage to the temple of Bhawanī, situated at Candrāvatī (the old capital of the Parmars near Abu), a town in her father's dominion. On her way back she received the news of Raja's death and destruction of his fort. She was then at a town Nagadrah or Nagda and the Brāhmaṇas of the place did not allow her to perform Sati. After some days a son was born to her, who was left to the care of Brāhmaṇī Kamalāvatī or according to another version, a Brāhmaṇ Vijay Dutta who was the priest in a temple of Koteśawar Mahādeva and longed for a son. On the hesitation of this Brāhmaṇ family emigrated from Vaḍnagar or Vitnagar to accept a 'Kṣatriya' child the Rāṇī gave him the words that seven generations of the prince would follow the Brāhmaṇic rites. Guhil made the Brāhmaṇ family which brought him up, his family Purohits or preceptors and they commanded great influence being the saviours of the line.

22 *Nansi's Chronicle*, p. i; Tod: (Crooke) vol. I, pp. 258.'

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the preceptors.[23] These epithets clearly imply that Śīlāditya was not a Brāhmaṇ but a Kṣatriya Rājā. In the same way Guhil also became a cause of delight to the Brāhmaṇs from Anandpur who were not his ancestors, as Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, but his 'purohits'. Dr. Bhandarkar, therefore, is not correct in saying that the term 'Mahīdeva' used for Guhil in the verse means 'a Brāhmaṇ.' He has interpreted the lines to suit his own theory and confused the Purohit family of Guhil with his ancestors. But in reality the verse means that Guhadatta greatly honoured the Brāhmaṇ family of Anandpur and not that he himself was a Brāhmaṇ and belonged to it.

It seems that Vedśarmā for the first time made use of the term 'Vipra' a qualifying word for Bappa. It is also worthy of note that the genealogy of the Guhilots given by Vedśarmā in the two aforesaid inscriptions is incorrect and incomplete and reveals the poet's ignorance of sober history. The greatest blunder of this poet writer of the above inscriptions is that he has made Guhila a descendant of Bappa which is obviously absurd. It is surprising that Dr. Bhandarkar has relied upon these two inscriptions which are full of errors of fact and failed to draw attention to these errors.

It may be repeated here that Guhil's mother promised to her Brāhmiṇ saviours that her descendants upto the seven generations would follow the Brāhmaṇic rules of life. In view of the sanctity that is attached to the words of a 'Satī' the promise made by this lady was faithfully carried out by her descendants. It is, therefore, understandable as to why inscription writers qualify Bappa and some other Guhilot princes with adjectives that are usually though not always meant for Brāhmiṇs.

In his second inscription from Abu of the year 1285 A.D., Vedśarmā represents Bappa to have exchanged his priestly splendour for Kṣatriya lustre with his preceptor Harit Rashi. The verse confirms to a large extent the traditional account that it was till the days of Bappa, who was the eighth in descent from Guhil, the Guhilot princes led Brāhmaṇic life as desired by the 'Satī'. It would be wrong to render the verse to mean as Dr. Bhandarkar has done that Bappa was

23 *Nāgari Pracāriṇi Patrikā* (N.S.), pt. 1, pp. 322-23.

जयति विजया रिपूनां(णां) देवद्विजगुरुजनानन्दो श्रीशीलादित्यो नरपतिः खकुलाम्बर पृथ्वीः (पृथ्व्याम्) ... । चन्द्रमाः ।

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a Brāhmiṇ and his family became known as Kṣatriya, whereas Harit Rashi was originally a Kṣatriya whom afterwards Bappa made a Brāhmiṇ. It is interesting to note that Vedaśarmā himself writes in the 3rd and 4th lines of the same verse (which Dr. Bhandarkar has not taken into account) that princes in his race (i.e. Bappa's) are shining intensely on the surface of the earth verily like the Kṣatriya Dharma in bodily form[24]. Moreover two of Bappa's ancestors 'Śilāditya' and 'Aparajit' have definitely been described as Kṣatriya Rājās with all the glories of the martial life attached to their names in two different inscriptions[25] composed in their own life time. These contemporary records establish the fact that the Guhilots were never really looked upon as Brāhmiṇs. Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the verse in Abu record of C. 1285, therefore, appears to be far fetched. Even the term 'Vipra' used by the poet for Bappa should not be taken to mean a 'Brāhmaṇ by birth.' Vipra literally means a sage or a wise man who has studied the holy scriptures and is well versed in performing religious ceremonies and rites.[26] And Bappa possessed these qualifications in an abundant degree. That seems to be the reason why he was styled as Vipra in the above inscription.

In the absence of reliable information the poet in his attempt to explain the frequent references to the Brāhmaṇ family from Anandpur perhaps presumed, unconsciously of course, that Bappa was also a Brāhmiṇ from Anandpur. Or it may be that being himself a Nagar Brāhmaṇ he took pride in connecting, wrongly of course, Bappa with the Nagar Brāhmaṇ family of Anandpur and referred to him by the equivocal expression of Vipra.

In his third argument Dr. Bhandarkar tries to seek support for his contention from the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*[27], composed by Mahārāṇā Kumbha and one Kanh Vyas. At the beginning of the chapter

24 *Ind. Anti.*, vol. 16, pp. 347.

25 *Samoli. Ins. N. P. Patrika* (N.S.), pt. I, pp. 311-24 and Kundeswar Ins. *El.*, vol. 4, pp. 31-32.

26 V. S. Apte: *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary 1890*, p. 982 उणादिकोष, ऋषिदयानन्दव्याख्या, gives the following meanings of the term Vipra:—

1. वपति धर्ममिति विप्रः i.e. one who sows *dharma* or virtue is Vipra.
2. मेधावी वा or wise man.

27 For these verses see *JASB.*, vol. V, No. 6, p. 171.

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'Rajvarṇan' it describes the genealogy[28] of a Nagar Brāhmaṇ family of 'Vaijvapa' *gotra*, emigrated from Anandpur. To this genealogy names of Guhadutta and Bappa have also been attached on the supposition that Bappa was son of Guhil and that both were Nagar Brāhmaṇs from Anandpur. This mistake of including the names of Guhil and Bappa in the genealogy of the Brāhmaṇs is caused by a wrong interpretation given to the oft-repeated verse of the Aitpur incription of Saktikumar dated 977 A. D. that uses the word 'Mahīdeva' to qualify Guhil. This very verse, preceded by the expression "as said by the ancient poets," has been quoted in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*. The compilers of this work took the word 'Mahīdeva' to mean a Brāhmaṇ as is evident from its use by them in the verse 2 of the same series in which Vijayāditya, the first name of the line is called 'Mahīdeva' and a 'Vipra' of the Nagar family. It is, of course, worthy of note here that the first name of this genealogy of the Nagar Brāhmaṇ family of Anandpur in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* is also the same as Vijayāditya or Vijey dutta, a Nagar from Vaḍnagar or Anandpur of the traditional accounts referred to above and who, as the legend goes, brought up Guhil and remained attached to his dynasty as the 'Rāj Purohitas'. This leaves little room for doubt that the first seven names in the genealogy of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* are the names of the members of the Purohit family of the Guhilots and not of those of the latter's ancestors. Either in ignorance or perhaps out of the consideration for the fact that Guhil was an adopted son of a notable member of this family, his name and those of his descendants have also been given in the same continuation. This view is confirmed by the fact that these first seven names (of the Nagar family) preceding that of Guhil's in the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* do not find a place in any other record giving the genealogy of the Mewar dynasty. Mahārāṇā Kumbha than whom there could be no better authority about the genealogy of his ancestors does not give these names in the Kumbhalgarh, Ranpur and Chitor Kīrti Stambha inscriptions which record the genealogy of the kings of Mewar and were composed under his personal supervision. The

28 The genealogy is thus—Vijjay Ditya, his son Keśava, his son Naga Raul, his son Bhoga Raul, his son Ashadhar, his son Sri Deva, his son Mahadeva and then Guhadutta and Bappa.

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authenticity of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* for the earlier history of the Guhilots has been doubted since the days of Kavi Raj Syamal Das,[29] the celebrated author of 'Virvinod'. These verses of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*, if at all of any historical value, at best give the pedigree from Vijayāditya onwards of the Purohit family—the Nagars from Anandpur in whose care Guhil as a child was left, and not of Guhil's ancestors as Dr. Bhandarkar believes.

In his fourth argument Dr. Bhandarkar says that Mahārāṇā Kumbna in 'Rasik Priya' his commentary on *Gīta Govinda* speaks of Bappa as a 'Dvija' of 'Baijvapa' *gotra* which is a clear evidence that the Guhilots originally were Brāhmaṇs. The word 'Dvija' for Bappa has also been used in the Ekaliṅga temple inscription dated 1489 A.D. of the days of Mahārāṇā Raimal.[30] But the term 'Dvija' does not necessarily mean a Brāhmaṇ only. Its use for Bappa by Mahārāṇā Kumbha simply hints at the religious life lead by him. In fact the term 'Dvija' means the 'twice born' and is applicable to the three castes—the Brāhmaṇ, Kṣatria, and Vaiśya and not exclusively to the Brāhmaṇs. That this term was used in the above sense is clear from the fact that in some of the inscriptions of the same period such as the Narlai inscription of Raimal's time (c. 1473-1509) Guhil, Bappa and Khumman have been described as 'Sūryavaṁśi Rājās'.[32]

Dr. Bhandarkar's next argument centres round the fact that the 'Gotra' of the Guhilots is the same as that of the Nagars, namely, 'Vaijvapa' and hence the former must have descended from the latter. While the learned doctor's premises are unexceptional, his conclusion is fallacious. It has been conclusively proved by late Dr. Ojha[33] that the Kṣatriyas derived their 'Gotra' from that of their family 'Purohits'—a fact clearly mentioned in the Mitākṣara[34] and Āśvalāyana.[35] In

29 *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, (old series), vol. 15, pt. III, p. 32.

30 *Bhawnagar Ins.*, p. 121. The fact has not been noted by Dr. Bhandarkar.

31 *Manusmṛti*, ch. 10, verse 3. ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।

32 *Narlai Ins., dated 1500 A.D., Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, pt. I, p. 268 ft. note 53.

33 Ojha: *Hist. of Raj.*, vol. I, Appendix i.

34 Mitākṣarā, p. 14. 'राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात् प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहित-गोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ ।'

35 Āśalāyana: तथा च यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीत इत्युक्त्वा पौरोहित्यान् राजविशां प्रवृणीते इत्याश्वलायनः (श्रौ रुं)।

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view of this the 'Gotra' of the Kṣatriya family changed with the change of the Purohit and examples of which exist in authentic records and have been cited by the late Dr. Ojha.[36] Far from supporting Dr. Bhandarkar's theory the fact that the Guhilots and the Nagars have had the same *gotra*, it establishes the authenticity of the traditional Rajput accounts about Guhil's birth and early history namely that this posthumous prince of the Solar race was brought up by Vaijvapa Gotri Nagar Brāhmaṇ of Vaḍnagar or Anandpur who became his family priest and whose *gotra* was also adopted by the prince.

Next the learned Doctor opines that the history of the tradition of Brāhmaṇ origin of the Guhilots goes as far back as the later half of the 10th century and quotes the Aitpur inscription of 977 A.D. in support of his view. But as we have already shown, this inscription does not refer to Guhil or Bappa as Brāhmaṇ and does not, therefore, support Dr. Bhandarkar's theory. We have also shown before that even 7th century Guhilot princes such as Śīlāditya and Aparajit have been described as Kṣatriya Rājās[37].

As regards his seventh argument it may be pointed that Dr. Bhandarkar has misinterpreted a verse in the Chatsu epigraph[38]. In the second half of the verse in question a Guhilot prince 'Bhartṛbhaṭṭa' is compared with 'Ram' as possessed of Brahma Kṣatra (i.e both priestly and martial) qualities, free from turmoil, full of bravery and proficient in the sport of cutting of trees viz. the soldiers of his enemies. In the first place, Dr. Bhandarkar substitutes 'Paraśurām' for clearly mentioned 'Ram' as the former was a Brāhmaṇ, devoted to the Kṣatriya ideal of war. Now if the author of the *Praśasti* had meant to convey that sense he could have conveniently used 'Paraśurām'. But because Bhartṛbhaṭṭa was a Kṣatriya of the Solar race he has been compared with 'Ram' who was also equally brave and proficient in cutting the soldiers of the enemy. Secondly, the learned doctor has gone to the extent of saying that 'Brahma Kṣatra' was a caste in the process of evolution. The term, on the other hand, means that Bhartṛbhaṭṭa for whom it is meant in the inscription was endowed with both martial and priestly

36 Ojha: *Hist. of Udaipur*, vol. I, p. 224; *Rajputana Museum Report 1920-21* p. 3.

37 Vide arguments No. 1 & 2.

38 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 12, p. 13, verse 7.

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qualities and not as Dr. Bhandarkar has inferred that 'Bhartṛbhaṭṭa was a Brāhmaṇ in extraction but performed regal duties'. The use of the term 'Brahma Kṣatra' is also seen in Purāṇas for such Kṣatriya Rājās as either adopted Brāhmaṇ *Dharma* or were more inclined towards it.[39] There is also inscriptional evidence wherein the term 'Brahma Kṣatra' has been used with the name of a Kṣatriya prince. For example, the Deopura inscription[40] uses the expression for Sāmanta-Sena of Bengal who definitely belonged to the lunar race of the Kṣatriyas. Halāyudha,[41] the court poet of the Parmar Raja Munj of Malwa, extols his patron Munj as 'belonging to Brahma Kṣatra kula'. But we know for certain that Munj was a Kṣatriya. Hence the term did not mean a 'Brāhmaṇ engaged in Kṣatriya duties' but a Kṣatriya endowed with spiritual qualities. Rājā Bhartṛbhaṭṭa of Chatsu inscription, therefore, was not a Brāhmaṇ but a Kṣatriya, who also seems to have followed like other early Guhilot kings the Brāhmaṇic rule of life as was traditionally practised in the clan since the days of Guhil in keeping with the words given by his 'sati' mother.

Last of all, Dr. Bhandarkar maintains that the Brāhmaṇ origin of the Guhilots was not unknown even to Nansi[42] and Karim-ud-din[43] (the author of *Tawarikh-i-Malwa*) writers of the 17th and 19th century respectively, who describe Bappa as a prince of 'Brāhmaṇ extraction'. As for Nansi it may be noted here, that though he described Bappa, not Guhil, the founder of the line as of Brāhmaṇ origin, he really believed in the traditional story of Guhil's bringing up by a Nagar Brāhmaṇ family and of having been by birth a Kṣatriya of the Solar race. Dr. Bhandarkar omits to take into consideration these facts in Nansi which go against his theory. Karimuddin is not an authority on Rajput history. The testimony of Abul Fazl, than whom there was no greater painstaking researcher in mediaeval times, must be accepted as the standard belief of Muslim writers of the age. "As a

39 Most of the Purāṇas write Rājā Kṣemaka of the Paurava Vaṁśa as a 'Brahma Kṣatra.'

40 *El.*, vol. I, p. 307.

41 Halāyudha: *Piṅgalsūtravṛtti*, ed. by Pt. Kedar Nath, p. 49. The verse is as follows:— ब्रह्मक्षत्रकुलोनः समस्तसामन्तचक्रनुतचरणः ।
सकलसुकृतैकपुञ्जः श्रीमान् मुञ्जश्चिरं जयति ॥ अध्याय ४, सूत्र ।

42 *Nansi's Chronicle*, p. 1. "आदि उत्पत्ति ब्रह्मण क्षत्रियाणां" ।

43 *JASB.*, 1909 vol. 6, p. 179.

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Brāhmaṇ at the beginning of their history nurtured their house", writes he in *Ain-i-Akbari*. "They (the Rāṇās) are accounted as belonging to this caste".[44] The irresistible conclusion, therefore, is that the Guhilots are not Brāhmaṇ by origin as Dr. Bhandarkar has presumed but are Kṣatriyas as has popularly been believed. Even if in some of their later records they have been referred as Brāhmaṇs it is because the founder of the line was brought up and protected by a Nagar Brāhmaṇ family of Vaḍnagar or Anandpur who were the Purohits of the Guhilots.

Besides, the above arguments we are in possession of several positive facts recorded in contemporary inscriptions, which Dr. Bhandarkar has not taken into consideration, but which prove the Kṣatriya origin of the Guhilots :—

1. The Sāmoli village inscription dated 648 A.D.[45], the earliest of all the known records of this dynasty describes Śīlāditya, the fifth descendant of Guhil in these words :—'जयति विजयी रिपूणां देवद्विज-गुरूजनानन्दी श्रीशीलादित्यो नरपतिः स्वकुलाम्बरचन्द्रमाः। पृथ्वीः (पृथ्व्याम्) i.e. "Triumphant on the earth is Rājā Śīlāditya, the conqueror of enemies, bestower of delight on God, Brāhmaṇ and preceptors and who is the moon on the firmament of his dynasty." This verse clearly implies that Śīlāditya was a Kṣatriya quite distinct from the Brāhmaṇs to whom he afforded delight.

2. Another inscription[46] dated 661 A.D. recovered from the Kundesvara temple near Nagda of the days of Śīlāditya's son Aparajit says about the latter that "In the illustrious Guhilanya or Guhila vaṁśa shines the fame of Śrīmān Rājā Aparajit, proficient in destroying all the turbulent elements and served by a number of Rājās who bowed their heads before him." In the above verse the poet has used such adjectives and qualifying phrases, underlined in the text below, for Aparajit which are conventionally used for the Kṣatriyas and not for the Brāhmaṇas.

44 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. Trans. Jarrett) vol. 2, p. 269.

45 *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, (N.S.) pt. 1 p. 311-24.

46 *El.*, vol. 4, p. 31-32. "राजा श्रीगुहिलान्वयामलपयोराशौ स्फुरद्दीधितिध्वस्त-ध्वान्तसमूहदुष्टसकलव्थालावलेपान्तकृत् श्रीमाँल्लिपराजितः क्षितिभृतामभ्यर्चितो मूर्धभिः वृत्तस्वच्छतयेव कौस्तुभमणिर्ज्जातो जगद्भूषणं ॥

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3. A gold coin ascribed to Bappa by Dr. G. H. Ojha[47] is said to contain a mark of the Sun on the obverse of it. This according to him is a decisive contemporary evidence in favour of the Solar descent of the Guhilots.

4. A fragmentary inscription[48] on the Lakuleesh temple of the Pāśupata sect near Ekaliṅga dated 971 A.D. in the reign of Rājā Narvahana clearly implies by the expression 'Raghuvaṁśa Kīrtipisunah' used therein that as early as this date the Guhilots were known as 'Raghuvaṁśis'. Dr. Bhandarkar while editing the record has omitted to take into consideration the word 'Raghuvaṁśa' though it is there in the original text. The value of this unimpeachable record, describing the Guhilots as Raghuvaṁśis, is enhanced by the fact that it was a private record and not composed by the order of a king of this dynasty.

5. The sixth verse of even the Aitpur inscription[49] dated 977 A.D. describes Rājā Narvahana as a Kṣatriya (क्षत्रक्षेत्रं) which Dr. Bhandarkar has altogether ignored.

6. An inscription dated 1278 A.D.[50] originally fixed at Chitor on the Syampārśavanath temple built by Rawal Samar Singh's mother Jaitala Devī describes Siṁha, one of the early kings of Mewar as a 'descendant of Guhil and a Kṣatriya'. It will interest the reader to know that this Chitor inscription was contemporaneous with those of Abu and Chitor composed by Vedśarmā. One fails to understand as to why Dr. Bhandarkar has not collated them to find out the correct meaning of Vedaśarmā's ambiguous composition.

7. Another epigraph[51] of Rāṇā Kumbha's father Rāṇā Mokal (1421-1433) from a place Śṛṅgi Ṛṣi (six miles from Ekaliṅgaji) dated 1428 A.D. quite contrary to *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*, Kumbhalgarh *praśasti* and Rasik Priya speaks of Rāṇā Mokal's grandfather Rāṇā Kṣatra

47 *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, (N.S.) pt. 241-85.

48 *Bombay Asiatic Society Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 166-67.

49 *Ind. Anti.*, vol. 39 p. 191, verse 6.

50 *Bhawnagar Ins.*, p. 75.

51 एवं सर्वमकंटकं समगमद्भुमराडलं भूपति
हम्मीरो ललनासमाः सुरपदं संपाल्य काश्चिन्समाः
सम्यग्वर्म हरं ततः स्वतनयं सुस्थाप्य राज्ये निजे
क्षेत्रं क्षत्रियवंशमंडनमणिं प्रत्यर्थिकालानलं ॥ (unpublished).

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Singh or Khetā as belonging to the Kṣatriya vaṁśa. The expression used in the original text for him is क्षत्रियवंशमंडनमणि i.e. 'the jewel of the Kṣatriya vaṁśa.

8. One more inscription of Rāṇā Raimal's reign (c. 1473-1509) from a Jain temple at Narlai village in the district of Jodhpur dated 1500 A.D. clearly mentions that Guhil, Bappa, Khumman etc. are 'Sūryavaṁśi Rājās'.

On the basis of the overwhelming and unimpeachable contemporary evidence the present writer has come to the conclusion that the Guhilots are Kṣatriyas of the Solar race and that Dr. Bhandarkar has unfortunately misread the inscriptional data and deduced an untenable inference.

M. L. Mathur

52 *Nagarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, pt. I pp. 268 ft. note 53.

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Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi of Bengal

(His works and history)

Bengal may be proud of the masterly products of the wide study and mature thought of her worthy son Raghunandana, the most eminent of the Smārta scholars that she has ever produced, but the name of the teacher who trained up this mastermind and gave to Bengal Smṛti a new trend with a new spirit which, with modifications, culminated in the works of his worthy pupil Raghunandana, is no longer very familiar to us. This teacher, who is no other than Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, son of Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīkarācārya, and who was one of the highly esteemed and widely known scholars and authors of mediaeval Bengal, has left behind him a good number of Smṛti works which once created a stir in this province ; but unfortunately, with the exception of the *Tātparya-dīpikā*, *Dāyabhāga-ṭippanī* and *Durgotsava-viveka*, none of his remaining works, though of no little importance for the study of the social and religious history of Bengal, has yet seen the light in printed form. It is, therefore, intended to give an account of Śrīnātha's life and family as well as of his works, which are very often referred to, directly or indirectly, by Raghunandana, Govindānanda and others.

I. *Śrīnātha's Works*

Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, who is most probably to be distinguished from Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa*[1] and the *Dattaka-*

1 R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (hereinafter referred to as Mitra, *Notices*), I, p. 183, No. 323; Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*), IX, pp. 1-2, No. 1; Dacca University Mss. Nos. 52A, 4552 and 4494.

In one of the introductory verses of his *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa*, Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa says that he wrote the work on the bank of the Gaṅgā (most probably Bhāgīrathī) —श्रीनाथभट्टः सुरनिम्नगातटे कोष्ठीप्रदीपं विदधे विचक्षणः। It is to be noted that besides the name and the residence of the author on the bank of the Gaṅgā, there is nothing in the *Koṣṭhī-pradīpa* which may help us in identifying this Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa with our Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.

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nirṇaya,[2] was, according to tradition,[3] a resident of Navadvīpa in the district of Nadia. He wrote a good number of Smṛti works, most of which have been mentioned by Manomohan Chakravarti in his short but learned essay on 'Contributions to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithila'.[4] These works, as mentioned by Chakravarti, are the following :

(1) *Sāra-mañjarī*,[5] a commentary on the *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa* of Nārāyaṇa ;

(2) *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā* or *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭippanī*,[6] a commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka* ;

(3) *Tātparya-dīpikā*,[7] a commentary on *Śūlapāṇi's Tithi-viveka* ;

2 *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*, II. p. 154-155, Nos. 165-166.

3 That this tradition is not totally baseless, seems to be shown by the fact that Rāmabhadra, son of Śrīnātha, calls himself 'Navadvīpa-nivāsī' in the colophon of the India Office Ms. of his *Smṛti-tattva-saṃgraha*. (See Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, No. 1567, p. 486. In his *Tantra-pramoda* Rāmeśvara, the second son of Rāmabhadra, also mentions him as a resident on the bank of the Gaṅgā (see Mitra, *Notices* I, pp. 139-140, No.260.....*bhaṭṭācāryaḥ prasiddho nikhila-janapade jahnu-kanyā-pratīre*.....//).

4 This essay was published in *JASB*, XI, 1915, pp. 311-406. In spite of the fact that the author has collected together in this essay much information regarding Śrīnātha and his literary activity, there are shortcomings which I have tried to remove in the present account of the great Smārta.

5 Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, (hereinafter referred to as *Vaṅg. Sāh. Par. Cat.*), p. 268, Ms. No. 1508. This Ms. is complete and is dated Śaka 1680.

6 Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (hereinafter referred to as Shastri, *Notices*), Second Series, I, pp. 381-382, No. 376.

The Ms. of the *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, described in *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*, II, pp. 396-7 (No. 433), begins with the same introductory verses as those of the Ms. mentioned above, but ends differently.

See also Dacca University Ms. No. 4313 (fols. 64 ff.) for an abridgment (?) of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*.

7 Shastri, *Notices*, Second Series, II, pp. 73-74, No. 87; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 283, No. 662; *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*, II, pp. 67-68, No. 75 (this Ms. is incomplete).

This commentary has been edited with Śūlapāṇi's *Tithi-viveka* by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta.

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(4) *Dāya-bhāga-ṭippanī*,[8] a commentary on Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāya-bhāga* ;

(5) *Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā*, of which no Ms. has been found as yet but which is mentioned in connection with Śrāddha in some Mss. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*[9] ;

(6) *Vivekārṇava*,[10] which deals with the following topics : Veda as the highest authority in matters concerning Dharma ; names of the different sciences (vidyā) ; character of Dharma-śāstra; names of Smṛti-kāras as given by Śaṅkha-likhita, *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* etc.; what is Sadācāra; Ācāra as a source of Dharma; the great authority of Śruti in those cases where Śruti and Smṛti differ; authority of 'deśa-prasiddha ācāra' even if it goes against Śruti (on this Bṛhaspati is quoted as an authority); different kinds of Smṛti (viz., dṛṣṭārtha, adṛṣṭārtha etc.); on Paribhāṣā; different kinds of bath and their results; duties to be done during and after bath; on Śrāddha; duties of Śūdras; on eclipses; and so on;

(7) *Vivāha-tattvārṇava*,[11] a treatise on the different questions relating to Hindu marriage;

(8) *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*,[12] which was certainly not known as

8 Published in Paṇḍita Bharata Candra Śiromaṇi's edition of the *Dāya-bhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana (1863-1866).

See also Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 460, No. 1513 for a Ms. of the commentary.

9 See Dacca University Ms. No. 4630 (fol. 39b) and Ms. No. 2. 38/12 (number in the valuation list; fol. 65a)—विस्तरस्त्वस्मदीयगूढ़ार्थदीपिकायां सिद्धान्तादर्शे च अनुसंधेय इति ।

See also the corresponding passage (विस्तरस्त्वस्मदीयगूढ़ार्थदीपिकायाम् अनुसंधेय इति) in the Calcutta Sanskrit Sāhitya Pāriṣad Ms. No. 518.

10 Ms. No. 1536, Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. This is an incomplete Ms. consisting of fols. 1-42.

11 For an incomplete Ms. (consisting of fols. 1-7) see *Vaṅg. Sāh. Par. Cat.*, p. 153, Ms. No. 1484.

12 For Mss. of this work see Mitra, *Notices*, II, pp. 361-2, No. 986 (the Ms. is incomplete); Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta (hereinafter referred to as Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*), III, pp. 230-1, No. 2139 (Ms. No. 3650, dated 1636 Śaka)); *Vaṅg. Sāh. Par. Cat.*, p. 126, Ms. No. 1535; Calcutta Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad Ms. No. 518 (Smṛti); Edward VII Anglo-Sanskrit Library, Nava-

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'*Kṛtya-kāla-vinirṇaya*' as R. L. Mitra, Manomohan Chakravarti, P. V. Kane, Theodore Aufrecht and others say[13] and which deals with the proper time and procedure of the different fasts and festivals to be observed during the twelve months of the year;

(9) *Durgotsava-viveka*,[14] a short treatise dealing with the different acts to be done in Durgā-worship as well as with the proper time for these acts;

(10) *Prāyaścitta-viveka*,[15] a treatise on expiations, which is quite distinct from the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi and deals with the following topics: the real nature (svarūpa) of expiation; determination of the Mahāpātakas, Upapātakas etc.;

dvīpa (Dist. Nadia), Ms. No. 887 (there are two more Mss. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* in this Library); Dacca University Mss. Nos. 49 (dated Śaka 1503), 4320 (dated Śaka 1717), 4630 (dated Śaka 1740), M. 2. 38/12 (dated Śaka 1744), ad 652B (an incomplete Ms).

13 Mitra, *Notices*, II, No. 986, p. 361; Manomohan Chakravarti in *JASB.*, XI, 1915, p. 347; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, pp. 535 and 753; Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 114; and so on.

The word 'kṛtya-kāla-vinirṇaya', occurring in the second introductory verse of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, must be taken in its literal sense to indicate the contents of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, viz., the determination of proper time for the different rites and duties of the Hindus.

That the real title of this work is *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* is shown not only by the verse 'कृत्यतत्त्वार्णवो नाम निबन्धो रचितो मया etc.,' with which Śrīnātha concludes his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* and which occurs in all the seven complete Mss. of this work I have examined, but also by the fact that in all the direct references made by Raghunandana and others to the work the title is given invariably as '*Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*' and not as '*Kṛtya-kāla-vinirṇaya*' (For the direct references to the '*Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*' see Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jīvānanda's edition) I, pp. 86, 161, 357, 498, 509, and II, pp. 132, 236; *Candana-dhenu-dāna* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4475, fol. 1b; Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa's *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition), pp. 126, 128, 129 188.

14 Edited by Satish Chandra Siddhantabhushan and published by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta.

For a Ms. of this work see Shastri, *Notices*, Second Series, III, pp. 92-93, No. 143. (Shastri fails to notice that this Ms., which beging with the same words as those of the section on Durgotsava in Jīmūtavāhana's *Kāla-viveka* but whose end is the same as that of Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka*, contains two works, viz., (1) the section on Durgotsava in Jīmūtavāhana's *Kāla-viveka* and (2) Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka*.

15 Mitra, *Notices*, VIII, pp. 272-3, No. 2830.

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power of different kinds of expiations for different kinds of sins; rules relating to taking food in Cāndrāyaṇa etc.; conduct of the sinner on the day preceding that of expiation; expiation for tearing one's sacred thread, for addressing one's own wife as mother out of rage, and so on;

(11) *Śuddhi-viveka*,[16] which is different from the *Śuddhi-vivekas* of Śūlapāṇi and Rudradhara and treats of impurity of different persons, male or female, young or old, due to birth, death, miscarriage etc.;

(12) *Ācāra-candrikā*,[17] which was written most probably in two parts (Pūrva-khaṇḍa and Uttara-khaṇḍa?) and which deals with the duties of the Śūdras, viz., the duties prescribed or forbidden for them, their sipping of water, cleansing of teeth, taking of food, cohabitation with their wives, other daily duties, funeral sacrifices, etc.;

(13) *Dāna-candrikā*,[18] which was written by Śrīnātha after consulting the *Matsya-tantra* etc. (विचार्य मत्स्यतन्त्रादि क्रियते दानचन्द्रिका), and which treats of the various kinds of gifts, viz., those to be made in funeral sacrifices, on suitable occasions, in proper places, and so on;

(14) *Śrāddha-candrikā*,[19] dealing with the procedure to be followed in funeral sacrifices (viz., the duties to be done on the day preceding that of the funeral sacrifice, rules regarding the feasts to be given on the occasion, the methods of performing Pārvaṇa Śrāddha, Ekoddiṣṭa, Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, Vṛddhi-śrāddha etc., and the like) and having an introductory verse in which Śrīnātha styles himself simply Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi[20] and says that he wrote

16 *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 273-4, No. 2831.

17 Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 524, No. 1648. This is a complete Ms. of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa of the *Ācāra-candrikā* and is dated Śaka 1710. For another Ms. of the *Ācāra-candrikā* see *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Sanskrit College Library*, Benares, p. 146, No. 918.

18 For two incomplete Mss. of this work see *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.* II, pp. 485-6 (No. 556) and p. 488, No. 563.

19 Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 558, No. 1734; Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, p. 406, No. 2311.

20 In the introductory verses of his *Ācāra-candrikā*, *Śrāddha-dīpikā* and *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava* also Śrīnātha calls himself simply 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.'

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this work after consulting 'all the Saṃhitās and Saṃgrahas'—

संहिताः संग्रहान् सर्वान् विलोक्य श्राद्धपद्धतिः ।
आचार्यचूडामणिना सोपपत्तिर्निबध्यते ॥

(15) *Śrāddha-dīpikā*[21], which gives the methods of the funeral sacrifices to be performed by the Yajurvedins and the Sāmavedins and seems to be a continuation of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-candrikā*;

(16) *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava*,[22] which deals with purification in cases of Aśauca caused by birth and death, etc., and in the introductory verse of which Śrīnātha says that he wrote this work after consulting the Saṃhitās of Manu and other great sages and the Nibandhas written by prominent scholars.

Besides the works mentioned above, Śrīnātha should also be credited with the authorship of a *Paddhati* (most probably called *Śrīnātha-paddhati*) as well as of another work entitled *Siddhāntādarśa*. Of these two, the former is mentioned once in Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka* and four times in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*. In the latter work it is referred to, on two occasions, for the methods of performing the Ananta-vrata and offering 'arghya' to Agastya, and on the other two occasions it is directed to be followed in its method of Durgā-pūjā on the Saptamī Tithi and of Dīpa-dāna after Lakṣmī-pūjā on Sukha-rātri. Though in none of the above mentioned references does Śrīnātha connect himself with the *Paddhati* as its author, the manner in which the *Paddhati* is mentioned in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*,[23] shows that the *Paddhati* must have been a work of Śrīnātha; because, like Raghu-

21 *Cal. Sans. Coll. Cat.*, II, p. 389, No. 425.

22 Shastri, *ASB. Cat.* III, pp. 232-3, No. 2140 (Ms. No. 3689). This Ms. is dated Śaka 1538.

For a description of this Ms. see also Manomohan Chakravarti in *JASB.*, XI, 1915, p. 346 (footnote 1).

23 Dacca University Ms. No. 4630, fol. 54a (व्रतानुष्ठानविधिश्च पद्धतावनुसंधेयः), fol. 54b (अर्घ्यदानविधिस्तु पद्धतावनुसंधेयः), fol. 64a (अस्यां च सप्तम्यां पूर्वाह्णे पद्धत्युक्त-विधिना पूजापि कर्तव्या), and fol. 71a (उल्काविसर्जनं कृत्वा प्रदोषे पद्धत्युक्तक्रमेण लक्ष्म्या संपूज्य दीपान् दद्यात्).

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nandana[24] and Govindānanda,[25] wherever Śrīnātha has to refer to any work for a particular topic or its detailed treatment, he invariably refers to one or other of his own.[26] That the *Paddhati* is a work of Śrīnātha is also definitely shown by an anonymous work called *Candana-dhenu-dāna* which mentions a 'Cūḍāmaṇi-kṛta-*paddhati*'.[27]

The title '*Paddhati*' and the nature of the references made to it in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* show that it was a manual dealing with the methods of performing various religious rites and ceremonies.

As no Ms. of this work has been found as yet, it is not possible for us to say anything more as regards its nature, extent and contents.

24 *Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 6 (……विवृतमेकादशीतत्त्वे), 15 (……व्याख्यातं शुद्धितत्त्वे श्राद्धतत्त्वे च), 59, 68, 113 (विस्तारस्त्वेकादशीतत्त्वेऽनुसंधेयः), 134, 150, 152, 166, 167, 233, 254, 273, 281, 282, 291, 319, 325, 367, 369, 375, 507, 775, 808, 828, 834, 847, 884; II, pp. 6, 56, 95, 105, 107, 114, 127, 160 (अन्यत् प्रतिष्ठापद्धतौ ज्ञेयम्), 171, 186, 190, 197, 211, 228, 237, 307, 423, 443, 445, 456, 461, 475, 532, 543, 547, 589, 617, 632, 634, 636, 644; *Durgā-pūjā-tattva*, p. 1.

There is a solitary case where Raghunandana says that as Mādhavācārya has dealt elaborately with Ekādaśī-upavāsa, Raghunandana avoids its detailed treatment for want of space. (See *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 23—अतएव माधवाचार्येणात्रैवोपवासे सर्वमुदाहृतम्। ग्रन्थगौरवभयान्न लिखितम्). It is to be noted that in this case Raghunandana does not refer his readers to Mādhavācārya's work; he only informs his readers of Mādhavācārya's detailed treatment of the topic.

25 *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 160, 162, 174, 325; *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 85, 323, 340, 342, 348, 380, 440, 483, 529, 559; *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 20, 22, 111, 216, 236, 348, 352, 359, 487, 489, 559.

The *Dāna-kaumudī* refers only to itself (see *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 64, 184, 191 and so on).

26 For instance, see *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4630), fols. 13b (अत्र च मलमासे विशेषोऽस्मत्कृतविवेकार्णवेऽनुसंधेयः), 21b (प्रपञ्चितमिदमस्माभिर्विवेकार्णवे, विस्तरभिया नेहाभिहितम्), 85a, 94b-95a etc.; also Śrīnātha's *Durgotsavaviveka*, p. 46 (अस्मत्तिथिविवेकटिप्पन्यां तात्पर्यदीपिकायामनुसंधेयम्); and so on.

27 *Candana-dhenu-dāna* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4475), fol. 2a [पति-] पुत्रवतीत्यादि देवलीयं च चूडामणिकृतपद्धतौ। This Ms. does not contain the name of the author.

That the word 'Cūḍāmaṇi' unmistakably means Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, we shall see below.

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The *Siddhāntādarśa* has been mentioned as a work of Śrīnātha in four good Mss. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*.[28] The readings 'विस्तरस्तु सिद्धान्तादर्शे ज्ञेय इति' of Dacca University Ms. No. 49 (fol. 38b) and 'विस्तरस्त्वस्मदीयगूढार्थदीपिकायां सिद्धान्तादर्शे च अनुसंधेयः' of Dacca University Mss. Nos. 4630 (fol. 39b) and M 2.38/12 (fol. 65a), though not expressly connecting Śrīnātha with the *Siddhāntādarśa* as its author, must not be taken to go definitely against Śrīnātha's authorship of this work. Even if either of these two readings (occurring in Dacca University Ms. No. 49 and Mss. Nos. 4630 and M 2.38/12) be taken to be the original one, it can hardly go against Śrīnātha's authorship of the *Siddhāntādarśa*, because he invariably refers to one or other of his own. Hence it is highly probable that the *Siddhāntādarśa*, which is referred to in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* for an elaborate treatment of Śrāddha, is a work of Śrīnātha. That Śrīnātha's authorship of a work called '*Siddhāntādarśa*' (Mirror of True Logical Conclusions) is not at all improbable, seems to be shown by the great importance attached to 'siddhānta' in Śrīnātha's works.[29] As no Ms. of the *Siddhāntādarśa* has been found up to the present time, and as no second mention of this work could be discovered by us in any of the works in Sanskrit literature even after extensive search, we are in the dark about its extent and contents. (It may be mentioned here that no work called *Siddhāntādarśa* has been mentioned in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the list of works on Dharmaśāstra appended to P. V. Kane's *History of Dharma-śāstra*, vol. I).

The common authorship of the above mentioned works is established not only by the introductory verses or the colophons or both, but also by the lines or expressions common to the introductory or

28 Ms. No. 887 (in the Edward VIII Anglo-Sanskrit Library, Navadwip), Dacca University Ms. No. 4320, Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) Ms. 3690, and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Ms. No. 1535, all of which read विस्तर- (v.l. विस्तार- in the last-mentioned Ms.) स्त्वस्मदीयसिद्धान्तादर्शेऽनुसंधेय इति .

29 Cf. the line 'सिद्धान्तदर्शनेनायं प्रबन्धो रचितो मया' occurring towards the end of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, and the line 'प्रसिद्धसिद्धान्तपरामृतौघः श्रीमान् विवेकार्णव उज्जहीते' occurring in the introduction of the *Vivekārṇava*.

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concluduing portions of two or more of these works.[30] Of course, a few of these works are said to be simply of 'Cūḍāmaṇi' or 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' (without any express mention of the name of the author) in their introductory verses or their colophons or both,[31] but this, as we have already seen, need not create any doubt regarding Śrīnātha's authorship of these works; because the title 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi', which we find in these works in place of the author's name, was a very famous one, and Śrīnātha has very often been referred to simply with this well known title or a part of it (viz., Ācārya or Cūḍāmaṇi) in Raghunandana's *Yajurvedi-śrāddha-tattva* and *Yajurvedi-vṛṣotsarga-tattva*,[32] Raghunātha Sārvabhauma's *Smārta-vyavasthārṇava*,[33] Gopāla Nyāyapañcānana's *Ācāra-nirṇaya*, *Aśauca-nirṇaya*, *Tithi-nirṇaya* etc.,[34] Kāśīrāma Vācaspati's commentary on Raghunandana's *Śuddhi-tattva* (where Kāśīrāma mentions Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi simply as 'Cūḍāmaṇi'),[35] Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya's work on the Vratas,[36] Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya's *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* (Kāla-khaṇḍa,

30 For instance, the line 'श्रीकराचार्यपुत्रेण श्रीमच्छ्रीनाथशर्मणा' occurs in the introductions of Śrīnātha's *Tātparya-dipikā*, *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, *Dāna-candrikā* and *Kṛtya-tattvarṇava*; Śrīnātha's *Śuddhi-viveka* has a line 'श्रीकराचार्यपुत्रेण श्रीनाथेन सतां मुदे' which resembles much the first mentioned one; the line 'श्रद्धां बुधा विपथगङ्गरिकाप्रवाहे दूराद्विहाय etc.' of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* may be compared to the lines 'तत्रासतां गङ्गरिकाप्रवाहभ्रमापनोदाय मम श्रमोऽयम्' of the *Vivekārṇava* and 'द्वेषात् परे गङ्गरिकाप्रवाहात्' of the *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭikā*; and so on.

31 For instance, in its introductory verse and colophon the *Śrāddha-dipikā* mentions 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' as its author, and in the colophon 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' is said to be the son of 'Mahāmahopādhyāya-Śrīkarācārya'; the *Ācāra-candrikā*, *Śrāddha-candrikā* and *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava* are ascribed to 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' in their introductory verses; and so on.

32 See *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 488 — °शूलपाणिरायमुकुटाचार्यचूडामण्यादयः ; and p. 640 .....रामदत्ताचार्यचूडामणिप्रभृतयः ।

33 Dacca University Ms. No. 2126A, fol. 3b — आचार्यास्तु विवेकाणिवे... इति वदन्ति, तदपि न सम्यक्. On fols. 2b, 14b, etc. there are references to 'Ācāryāḥ' (i.e. Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi).

34 *Ācāra-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms. No. 327A), fol. 9b; *Aśauca-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms. No. 327C), fol. 42A; *Tithi-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms. No. 327G), fols. 113a-b and 119b-120a; and so on.

Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana refers to Śrīnātha as 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi.'

35 *Śuddhi-tattva* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, Calcutta), pp. 100-101.

36 Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, No. 2096, p. 194.

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fol. 29a),[37] and in the anonymous *Candana-dhenu-dāna*,[38] and so on.

As to the sequence of Śrīnātha's works, nothing can be said definitely except that the *Sāra-mañjarī*, being mentioned in the *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, preceded it; the *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, being written according to his father's instructions (cf. श्रीकराचार्यपुत्रेण श्रीमच्छ्रीनाथशर्मणा । व्याख्या श्राद्धविवेकस्य जनकोक्ता निबध्यते ॥), was one of his early works; the *Tātparya-dīpikā*, being mentioned in the *Durgotsava-viveka*, preceded the latter; the *Paddhati* preceded the *Durgotsava-viveka* and the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, in which it is mentioned; the *Vivekārṇava* has been quoted in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, *Dāna-candrikā* and *Śrāddha-dīpikā*, and consequently it must have preceded these three works; the *Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* and the *Siddhāntādarśa* have been mentioned in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, which consequently followed the former two works; the *Ācāra-candrikā*, being mentioned in the *Dāna-candrikā*, *Śrāddha-dīpikā* and *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava*, had an earlier origin than these three works; the *Śrāddha-candrikā* preceded the *Śrāddha-dīpikā* and the *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava*, in which it is mentioned; and the *Śrāddha-dīpikā*, being mentioned in the *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava*, preceded the latter.

II. *Śrīnātha's Personal History*

Though, as we have seen above, Śrīnātha has left behind him at least eighteen works as unmistakable proofs of his profound scholarship, he has furnished his works with very little information about himself. Hence we have no other way of being acquainted with Śrīnātha's life and thought than examining all his works thoroughly.

From a perusal of these works we learn that Śrīnātha, who seems

37 The *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa, is an extensive Smṛti work meant for the use of the Brahmins of Southern India. Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, No. 2216 (Ms. No. 1969), p. 332. Also Mitra, *Notices*, VII, pp. 137-9, No. 2369.

38 Dacca University Ms. No. 4475. It begins thus: अथ चन्दनधेनुदानम् । हलायुधरत्नाकरचार्यचूडामणितर्कार्चार्य... On fol. 1b it mentions the आचार्यचूडामणि-कृत-कृत्यतत्त्वार्णव and on fol. 2a, a 'चूडामणिकृत-पद्धति'.

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to have been a Bhāgavata Vaiṣṇava,[39] was the son of a learned father named Śrīkarācārya,[40] who was the scion of a family of Brahmins probably Vaidika and hailing from Orissa,[41] whose scholarship had won for him the title Mahāmahopādhyāya, and according to whose instructions Śrīnātha wrote his commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka*.[42] So, it is evident that Śrīkara was a learned scholar with a special taste and aptitude for Smṛti and must have exerted great influence on the life and works of his illustrious son; but unfortunately we know nothing more about him. Manomohan Chakravarti and P. V. Kane are inclined to ascribe the authorship of the *Dāya-nirṇaya* (also called *Dāya-bhāga-nirṇaya* or *Dāya-bhāga-vinirṇaya*) to Śrīkara[43] on the basis

39 In the introductory verses of his *Dāna-candrikā* and *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* Śrīnātha salutes 'Govinda who sports in Vṛndāvana' (śrī-govinda-pada-dvandvaṃ ...../vande vṛndāvana-caraṃ...../), and in those of the *Śrāddha-candrikā* and the *Vivekārṇava* he salutes 'Devakī-suta' and 'Bāla-Gopāla' respectively. Though in the opening verses of Śrīnātha's *Prāyaścitta-viveka* and *Śuddhi-viveka* there is mention of 'Rāma', in the latter work he is called 'Kamalākānta' and is thus identified with Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.

40 This Śrīkarācārya must be distinguished from Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrīkarācārya (of Mithilā), who was an officer of king Rāmasiṃhadeva of Mithilā and wrote the *Vyākhyāmṛta*, a commentary on the lexicon *Amara-kośa* (see *JASB.*, XI, 1915, pp. 343 and 414). King Rāmasiṃhadeva of Mithilā lived about 1390 A.D., and under his patronage Ratneśvara Miśra wrote a commentary (called *Ratna-darpaṇa*) on the rhetorical *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and Pṛthvīdharācārya wrote a commentary on the drama *Mṛcchakaṭika*. (See *JASB.*, XI, 1915, pp. 413-4. See also S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, pp. 149-150).

There was yet another comparatively early Śrīkara who is mentioned in the *Mitākṣarā*, *Smṛti-sāra* (of Harinātha), *Dāya-bhāga* and *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* (of Jīmūtavāhana), *Smṛti-candrikā*, *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, *Smṛtyartha-sāra* (of *Śrīdhara*), etc. It is likely that the Śrīkara 'wrote a digest of Smṛtis in which he paid particular attention to the explanation of the words of Yājñavalkya.' According to P. V. Kane this Śrīkara is to be placed between 800 and 1050 A.D. and probably in the ninth century. See Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra* I, pp. 266-8; also Kane in *JBBRAS.*, 1925, pp. 213-5.

41 In the colophon of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Ms. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* Śrīkara is called 'Utkala-kula-kamala-dina-maṇi.'

42 See the second introductory verse of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*, which has been quoted above.

43 See Chakravarti in *JASB.*, XI, 1915, pp. 343-4 and Kane in his *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, pp. 560 and 751.

Chakravarti ascribes the authorship of the *Dāya-nirṇaya* to Śrīkarācārya with some diffidence.

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of two India Office Mss. of this work which, in their introductory verses, mention Śrīkara Śarman as the author.[44] But the fact that a reference made to 'Smārtāḥ' in this *Dāya-nirṇaya* can be traced in Raghunandana's *Dāya-tattva*[45] shows definitely that the *Dāya-nirṇaya* must have been written later than Raghunandana, the great 'Smārta' of Bengal. Further, an examination of a large number of Mss. of this *Dāya-nirṇaya* has shown that it is decidedly a work of Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana who wrote a number of Smṛti treatises with titles ending in the word 'nirṇaya', and that there is no third case in which this work has been ascribed to Śrīkara.[46] Even in the colophon of one

44 Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 462 (No. 1523) and p. 463 (No. 1524). Both these Mss. begin thus:

श्रीरामचरणाम्भोजं ध्यात्वा श्रीकरशर्मणा ।
विविच्यते विवादेषु दायभागविनिर्णयः ॥

अथ दायभागनिर्णयः । दायभागो यावत्संबन्धिधनविभागः । मनुना—एष स्त्रीपुंसयोः etc.

45 *Dāya-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms. No. 1481), fol. 1b—

नारदः—विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।
दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥
यत्र विवादपद इति स्मार्ताः ।

This reference is traceable in Raghunandana's *Dāya-tattva* which has: अथ दायभागः । तत्र नारदः—

विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।
दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥
.....यत्र विवादपदे । (See *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 161).

46 See, for instance, Mitra, *Notices*, II, p. 352, No. 966; and Dacca University Mss. No. 327F, No. 529D (which is incomplete towards the end), and No. 2138F.

All these four Mss. begin thus:

श्रीकृष्णचरणाम्भोजं ध्यात्वा गोपालशर्मणा ।
वितन्यते विवादेषु दायभागस्य निर्णयः ॥

अथ दायभागनिर्णयः । दायभागो यावत्संबन्धिधनविभागः । मनुना—एष स्त्रीपुंसयोः etc. (Ms. No. 327F reads विभागेषु for विवादेषु in the second line; Ms. No. 529D reads नत्वा for ध्यात्वा in the first line and omits दायभागनिर्णयः after अथ in the third line; and Ms. No. 2138F reads विभागेषु for विवादेषु in the second line and दायनिर्णयः for दायभागनिर्णयः in the third line).

It is to be noted that in Ms. No. 2138F the introductory verse occurs in the margin.

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of the two India Office Mss. mentioned above, this work is ascribed to Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana[47]. The occurrence of the reading 'śrīkara-śarmaṇā' for 'gopāla-śarmaṇā' in the introductory verse as found in the India Office Mss. must be due to a scribal mistake caused by the uncertain text of this verse.[48] Haraprasad Shastri, on the other hand, makes Śrīkara, father of Śrīnātha, a collaborator of Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa who wrote his commentary on the *Amara-koṣa* in 1353 Śaka or 1431-32 A.D.[49], but we have not yet been able to discover the basis of this statement. It seems that Mm. Shastri had in his mind the Ms. of the *Amara-koṣa-ṭīkā* noticed by him in his *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 23 with the remark श्रीकरेण रायमुकुटेन च रचिता. But this remark obviously means that the codex consists of two Mss., one of Rāyamukuṭa's commentary on the *Amara-koṣa* and the other of that of Maithila Śrīkara.[50] (It is to be noted that here Mm. Shastri makes a serious confusion between Maithila Śrīkara, the commentator of the *Amara-koṣa* and Śrīkara, the father of Śrīnātha).

Though we see that Śrīkara was neither the author of the *Dāya-nirṇaya* nor a collaborator of Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, we must admit that he was a learned scholar and was perhaps the main incentive to Śrīnatha's taking up Smṛti as a subject of study. As a matter of fact,

See also Dacca University Mss. Nos. 1481 and 3221 of the same work. Of these two Mss. the former begins thus:

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वन्द्वं कृष्णायाश्च विशेषतः ।
पठित्वा पुस्तकं तं तु लिख्यते दायनिर्णयः ॥

अथ दायनिर्णयः । दायभागो यावत्संबन्धिधनविभागः । मनुना—एष स्त्रीपुंसयोः etc., whereas the latter has the following beginning: नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वन्द्वमज्ञानध्वान्त-भास्करम् । न्यायपञ्चाननो विद्वान् कुरुते दायनिर्णयम् ॥ अथ दायभागनिर्णयः । दायभागो यावत्संबन्धिधनविभागः । मनुना—एष स्त्रीपुंसयोः etc. In the colophons of almost all the Mss. of the *Dāya-nirṇaya* referred to above 'Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana' or 'Gopāla Pañcānana' has been mentioned as the author.

It must be noted that the text of the introductory verse of this work is not always fixed but often varies in different Mss.

47 Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 463, No. 1524.

48 For the varied text of the introductory verse see footnotes 44 and 46 above.

49 Shastri, *ASB. Cat.*, III, Preface, p. xx.

50. For a discussion on this point see *JASB.*, XI, 1915, p. 343, footnote 1.

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Śrīnātha became so deeply learned in this subject that his erudition earned for him the titles 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi', 'Pāṭhaka- (or Pāṭhi-) ratnākarācārya',[51] and also perhaps 'Mahāmahopādhyāya'[52]; and the far-reaching fame of this scholar gathered round him a galaxy of students, of whom Raghunandana, the great Smārta, was one[53]. Tradition seems sometimes to connect Kṛttivāsa with Śrīnātha as one of his pupils[54], but as this great poet of mediaeval Bengal was born in, or very near about, Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398-99) and began to write his famous *Rāmāyaṇa* in Śaka 1340 (A.D. 1418) during the reign of

51 This title occurs in the colophons of two Mss. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, viz., Dacca University Ms. No. 49 and Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Ms. No. 1535.

52 This title occurs in the colophon of the Ms. of the *Śuddhi-tattvārṇava* mentioned above.

53 On many occasions Raghunandana refers to Śrīnātha simply as 'guru-caraṇāḥ.' See *Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 31 (this reference is made to the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*), 85, 150 and 769-770 (this reference is to the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*); II, pp. 5, 103 (this refers to the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*), 493 (एवं श्राद्धचन्द्रिकायां गुरुचरणाः), 500 (इति श्राद्धचन्द्रिकायां गुरुचरणाः), and 547.

54 In Kṛttivāsa's Ātma-vivaraṇa contained in an incomplete Ms. of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa of his *Rāmāyaṇa* (written in Bengali) the following couplet occurs:

राडा मधै वन्दीनु आचार्य्य चुडामणि ।
जार ठाइ कित्तिवास पडिला आपुनि ॥

'In Rāḍha I pay homage to Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, with whom Kṛttivāsa himself read.' (See Basantaranjan Roy and Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Mss.*, vol. I, p. 234, No. 1717; also Introduction p. ix).

As the above couplet is not found in any other Ms. its authenticity is doubtful.

That the title 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' has been used by the successors of Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi to mean none but Śrīnātha, we have seen in the foregoing pages. So, it seems that the author of the above mentioned couplet had the impression that Kṛttivāsa was a pupil of Śrīnātha.

It is, however, highly probable that by the title 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' the author of the above mentioned couplet means Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa who also was originally a resident of Rāḍha, received, among other things, the title Ācārya' from his patron, and is called 'Paṇḍita-cūḍāmaṇi' (and once simply 'Cūḍāmaṇi') in the final colophon of the Ms. of his *Smṛti-ratnahāra* as well as in those of some of the Mss. of his *Amara-kośa-ṭikā*.

(For more detailed information about Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa and his probable connection with Kṛttivāsa, see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVII, pp. 442-471).

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Rājā Gaṇeśa[55], we can safely reject such traditions as absolutely worthless, the date of Śrīnātha's literary activity having to be placed much later[56]. Whoever his students might have been, Śrīnātha realised the gravity of his own task as a teacher as well as the manifold difficulties of the students, who had to study Smṛti almost unaided, because the philosophers, who could do justice to the subject, did not care to direct their attention to it, and others also were incapable of determining the proper meanings of words used in Smṛti works[57]. So, with all humility[58] and high regard for his predecessors, especially for Śulapāṇi whose influence on his life and works is very great and whom he salutes at the beginning of his *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*[59], he had to undertake, with unswerving faith in himself[60], the difficult task of writing such works as would remove the doubts of his students and help their intellectual development[61] and also throw light on the

55 For the date of birth of Kṛttivāsa and his probable connection with Rājā Gaṇeśa, see N. K. Bhattshali's *Bhūmikā* (pp. 1 ff.) to his edition of *Kṛttivāsa-viracita Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa (published by the University of Dacca, 1936). See also Jogesh Chandra Roy in *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 1340 B.S., pp. 13 ff.

56 The period of Śrīnātha's literary activity will be discussed in a different place.

57 गजनिमीलनवन्न मनश्चिरं दधति दर्शनतत्त्वविदः स्मृतौ ।
पदपदार्थविचारजडाः [परे] तदिह शिष्यहिताय मम श्रमः ॥
This stanza occurs at the beginning of Śrīnātha's *Tātparya-dipikā*.

58 Cf. क्व शूलपाणेर्वचनं दुरूहं कुधीर्मदीयाल्पतमा तथापि ।
ब्रवीमि तात्पर्यलवं तदीयं यदत्र तन्मे सुधियः क्षमध्वम् ॥
which is the third introductory verse of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*.

59 व्यवस्थाद्वैधसंभ्रान्तिसंतानच्छेदहेतवे ।
विबुधश्रेणिवन्द्याय नमः श्रीशूलपाणये ॥

60 Cf. "संदेहतिमिराच्छन्नश्राद्धकल्पप्रकाशिका ।
जगज्जाड्यापहा क्लृप्ता सस्नेहं श्राद्धदीपिका ॥"
with which Śrīnātha concludes his *Śrāddha-dipikā*.

61 Note, the expressions 'शिष्यहिताय मम श्रमः' and 'सुशिष्यबुद्धिवैषद्यहेतोः····· कृता···'···तात्पर्यदीपिका' in the introductory and concluding verses respectively of Śrīnātha's commentary on the *Tithi-viveka*, and the line 'सुशिष्यसंदेहनिरासहेतोः श्रीनाथशर्मा कुरुते विवेकम्' in the introductory verse of Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka* (ed. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta).

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dire darkness of ignorance and doubt prevailing all around.[62] As an apology as to why he set his hand to writing a commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka* he says in his *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā* that Śūlapāṇi's works, which saved the people from mistakes caused by divergent injunctions as regards the right procedure of a particular Hindu rite or ceremony, were often misinterpreted by the people through jealousy or ignorance or fondness for bad logic; hence he tried to explain, in his own way, the work of Śulapāṇi[63]. However, before we launch on a further and a more detailed study of Śrīnātha's views as well as of the nature of his contribution to the history of Bengal Smṛti, we should determine the period of his literary activity, so that we may form an idea of the society which produced this great Smārta scholar. We shall make an attempt in this direction on another occasion.

R. C. Hazra

62 Cf. 'संदेहतिमिराच्छन्नश्राद्धकल्पप्रकाशिका ।
जगज्जाड्यापहा क्लृप्ता सस्नेहं श्राद्धदीपिका ॥'
at the end of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-dipikā*, as well as the concluding stanza of his *Śrāddha-candrikā* which runs as follows:

आचारद्वैधसंजातसंदेहतिमिरापहा ।
विबुधानन्दजननी कृतेयं श्राद्धचन्द्रिका ॥

63 Cf. सन्त्येव चिन्त्या (? न्ता) म[णि]कामधेनुहेमाद्रिरत्नाकरकल्पवृक्षाः ।
तुच्छैरलं प्रतिपादितार्थैस्तद्बाधबोधयतु (?) शूलपाणिः ॥
केचित् कुतर्काध्यवसाय + + न्ये द्वेशात् (? द्वेषात्) परे गड्डरिकाप्रवाहात् ।
अज्ञानतः केचन शूलपाणेर्भाष्यन्ति सिद्धावपथादपेताः ॥ etc.
occurring at the end of a Ms. of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*.

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Brahman and Purohita

in Atharvanic Texts

Introduction

In a Śrauta sacrifice the Trayī—the *Ṛg*, the *Yajus* and the *Sāman*—is represented by the Hotṛ, Adhvaryu and the Udgātṛ. But how the fourth Veda—the Atharvan came to be represented in the Vedic sacrifice is an interesting investigation.

That the Atharvan gets only a scant reference in the first three Vedas and in the literature attached to them is a fact amply corroborated by evidence. This neglect on the part of the Traividyas or the followers of the Trayī who do not recognize the Atharvan even as a Veda, brought about a sort of reaction. The treatment of the *AV.* in the Atharvan ritual texts is simply directed towards the glorification of the Atharvan in a mystic manner[1] and reflects the general trend of the reaction. The ritual texts attached to the *AV.* call their Veda, the *Atharva-veda* as Sarvavidyā as opposed to the Trayī Vidyā. They seem to be out to prove the *AV.* superior to all the other Vedas both in holiness and comprehension. Not only this but on some points such as the office of the Brahman in the Vedic sacrifice or the office of the Royal Chaplain—the Purohita, the ritual texts of the *AV.* fight a systematic battle against the Traividyas. The *Atharvan Saṁhitā* itself and the Upaniṣads attached to it are perhaps indifferent about this matter or rather silent about it purposely but the *Kauśika Sūtra*, the *Vaitāna Sūtra*, the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Atharva-Pariśiṣṭas* never lose a single opportunity to praise the *AV.* as the Fourth Veda and press the claims of the priest versed in Bhṛgvaṅgiras for the offices of the Brahman and the Purohita.

The Office of the Brahman in Atharvan Ritual Texts

The *Vai. Sūt* (Vs) advises[2] that the Atharvāṅgirovid shall be chosen as Brahman and there he is given precedence ove. Hotṛ,

1 *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 1. 4-10; *Vai. Sut.*, I. 17, 18.

2 *VS.*, 11. 2.

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Adhvaryu and Udgātṛ. Another mantra passage in the same work[3] also corroborates this. Elsewhere in the same work Brahman tells[4] other priests that they are not the guardians of the sacrifice greater than himself nor are they better nor excellent; they should not stand above him nor pose themselves as on par with him even though their words are wisely instructed. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* emphasizes the origin of the *AV.* from the lonely Brahma[5] and places Atharvan and Aṅgiras at the head of the Vedic texts[6]. It further calls the *AV.* as 'Bhūyiṣṭha Brahma'[7] = the greatest Veda being correlated with Brahman the fourth priest representing his Veda (the Brahmaveda) at the sacrifice. Both in the *Gopatha* and the *Vaitāna*[8], it is asserted that the Atharvans and the Āṅgirasas reach even beyond the great world of Brahma.

The *Vai. Sūt.* states that[9] the supervising priest—Brahman shall be a Brahmavedavid; that[10] an Atharvāṅgirovid shall be chosen as Brahman and that he is superior to all other priests of the sacrifice. As the overseer of a Śrauta sacrifice, the Brahman, according to the *Gopatha*[11], must possess the essential qualification viz. full knowledge of Brahmaveda or Atharvāṅgiras. He is all-knowing[12]—Sarvavid which indicates that the *AV.* is Sarvavidyā and hence obviously above Trayī Vidyā. 'The sacrifice', states the *Gopatha* clearly[13], 'is futile without Brahman versed in Bhṛgvaṅgiraḥ'; 'As a cow cannot proceed with less than four feet so the sacrifice must have four feet—four Vedas and four priests'.

Brahman in non-Atharvanic Texts

The activities of the Brahman priest in the sacrifice are described in the *Ṛgveda*[14] but there no particular Veda is assigned to him. He

3 *VS.*, 6. 1.
4 *VS.*, 37. 2.
5 *GB.*, I. 1. 4-10; also VS. 1. 17, 18.
6 *GB.*, I. 1. 6
7 *GB.*, I. 3. 4.
8 *GB.*, I. 1. 25; VS. 6. 1.
9 *VS.*, 1. 1.
10 *VS.*, 11. 2.
11 *G.B.*, I. 2. 16.
12 *G.B.*, I. 2. 18.
13 *GB.*, I. 3. 1, 2.
14 *RV.*, I, 64. 35 ; IV, 58.2 ; V, 29.3; 31.4; VII, 7.5; VIII, 15.9; 16.7; 17.3; 31.1; 32.16; 81.30; 85.5; IX, 112.1; 113.6; X, 71.11; 107.6, etc.
Particularly, *RV.*, X, 71.11 :—

ऋत्वां त्वा पोषमास्ते पुपुष्वान् गायत्रं त्वो गायति शकरीषु ।
ब्रह्मा त्वो वदति जातविद्यां यज्ञस्य मात्रा वि मिमीत उत त्वः ॥

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is described to have been engaged in various activities of the sacrifice such as reciting Śastras and Stotras, chanting Sāmans, grinding and filtering Soma, cooking the beast etc. But his connection with the *AV.* is not hinted anywhere in the *Ṛgvedic* references. On the other hand at one place he is identified with Agni.[15] Thus Brahman was an all-round theologian and an Atharvan priest is not suggested by the non-Atharvanic texts as eligible for the office. A priest versed in the *ṚV.* was thought fit to hold it and Vaśiṣṭha was a celebrated Brahman and held this office in his family traditionally.[16] And no original connection can be traced between Vaśiṣṭha and the *AV.*[17]

Though the Atharvan ritual texts like the *Kauśika, Vaitāna, Gopatha* and the *Pariśiṣṭas* have made a common cause to force the way of a Bhṛgvaṅgirovid directly to the great Śrauta performances of the Trayī yet on what grounds they claim the position of Brahman for a priest versed in the *AV.* cannot be clearly explained. It may be because the *Atharvan Saṁhitā* contains a number of theosophic hymns in glorification of Brahma[18] or because the four priests required four Vedas—the Hotṛ had *ṚV.*, the Adhvaryu had *YV.* and the Udgātṛ had the *SV.* and so the remaining Brahman priest should have the *AV.* Thus, anyhow, for some indefinite reason or even by mere accident Brahman was linked up with the *AV.* and the *Atharva Veda* became the fourth Veda and the *Brahmaveda* at once. *Aṣṭk, yajus* and *sāman* were different kinds of Vedic literary compositions so Brahma (neuter) had the sense of a charm or a prayer[19]. But as the others have their plural forms, the word Brahman has not a corresponding plural. Hence in that way the interpretation of the 'Brahmaveda' as the *AV.* is not possible. Still the Atharvanists' claim for that

15 *ṚV.*, VII. 7. 5:—

असादि वृतो बर्हिराजगन्वान्। अग्निर्ह्वा नृषदने विधर्ता।
द्यौश्च यं पृथिवी वावृधाते। आयं होता यजति विश्ववारम्॥

16 *Ait. Brāhm.*, VII. 26. *Tait Saṁ.*, III. 5. 2. 1.

17 Except of course, Kālidāsa had no other intention in making Vaśiṣṭha the 'Atharva-nidhi' (Raghuvaṁśa I. 59 etc.) than heighten the effect of the couplet by contrast.

18 *GB.*, I. 1. 9; Sāyaṇa Intro. to his Com. on the *AV.* p. 4.

19 *AV.*, I. 10 1; XIV. 44; 23. 4. *ṚV.*, V. 85. 1; VII. 28. 1.

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position must have been based on some ground, howsoever distant or indistinct it might be.

Brahman's importance in sacrifice

It is impossible to think of a period in the history of the Vedic people and religion when the services of an Atharvan priest were not in need in the Śrauta performances. The influence of magic and witchcraft, the number of Kāmyeṣṭayaḥ and many other facts about the Śrauta rites point out an unmistakable connection between the Atharvan priests and the Śrauta ritual. The interest of kings and sovereignty of Brahmans and the priestly class and even the safety of sacrifice depended mainly upon the magic power of the Atharvans. When, therefore, a *Pariśiṣṭa*[20] says :—

अथर्वा सृजते घोरमद्भुतं शमयेत्तथा ।
अथर्वा रक्षते यज्ञं यज्ञस्य पतिरङ्गिराः ॥
दिव्यान्तरिक्षभोमानामुत्पातानामनेकधा ।
शमयिता ब्रह्मवेदज्ञः तस्माद्दक्षिणतो भृगुः ॥
ब्रह्मा शमयेन्नाध्वर्यु र्न च्छन्दोगो न बह्वृचः ।
रक्षांसि रक्षति ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मा तस्मादथर्ववित् ॥

in praise of the Atharvan priest, the claim of the Atharvanist for the position of the Brahman, may not seem unfounded. The office of the Brahman was thus filled by an Atharvāṅgirovid which office in course of time covered a thorough knowledge of all the procedures of the Śrauta sacrifices and their protection from the prying evil powers which try to frustrate all holy works at any moment finding a suitable opportunity. The *Vaitāna Sūtra* which is a Śrauta manual of the *AV.* was then duly recognized[21]. Expiation of sins committed during sacrifice was made the special charge of the Brahman[22].

The office of the purohita

Whether the offices of the Brahman and the Purohita were occupied by one and the same Atharvan priest cannot be definitely told.

20 Muir. *OST.*, III. 37 from 'Rāstrasaṁvarga' *Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* 2.

21 Garbe, *Preface to the Vaitāna Sūtra*, p. iv.

22 The Mss of the *Vaitāna* add six chapters on Prāyaścitta to the text, and the *Gopatha* refers to the defects in sacrifice which are to be corrected by *AV.*, I. 1. 13 and 22.

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The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[23] at one place describes a magic rite known as 'Brahmaṇaḥ parimāra' which is meant to kill hostile kings and supplies us an indirect testimony to the identity of Brahman and Purohita, for Purohita was in ancient times an invariable adjunct of the kings. The *Artharva-pariśiṣṭas*[24] also state that Brahman, Purohita and Guru were the titles of one and the same person. Vaśiṣṭha was both Purohita and Brahman[25]. The necessary qualification of the Purohita was that he must be skilled in magic and witchcraft i.e., Atharvāṅgirasīḥ śrutīḥ. The *Kauśika Sūtra*[26] says: —

तत्र राजा भूमिपतिर्विद्वांसं ब्राह्मणमिच्छेत्। एष ह वै विद्वान् यद् भृग्वंगिरोविद्। एते ह वास्य सर्वस्य रमयितारः पालयितारः यद् भृग्वंगिरोविदः।

Thus the rule was that the king who ruled the country should seek a wise Brahman. He is verily wise that is skilled in Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, for Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras act as a charm against all ominous occurrences and protect everything. According to this rule the king's Purohita must be an Atharvavedin[27] for it was quite natural that as the guardian of the potent Atharvan and Aṅgiras charms and incantations, he could ensure the interests of the king and his sovereignty and his subjects, and ward off all kinds of evils with his magic performances. Even the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[28] describes the Purohita functioning in close co-operation with the king and his functions clearly fall within the scope of Atharvan practices[29]. The 'Brahmaṇaḥ parimāra' as told before is a magic rite to destroy the hostile kings.

Purohita in the Atharva-pariśiṣṭas

The later *Atharva Pariśiṣṭas* seem to be very vehement on the question of the office of the Purohita. They give the first and the last rule in the Atharvan priest's appointment to the office of the Purohita. In the 'Rājaprathamābhiṣeka' (*Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* 3) we have[30]: —

यस्य राज्ञो जनपदेऽथर्वा शान्तिपारगः।
निवसत्यपि तद्राष्ट्रं वर्धते निरुपद्रवम्॥

23 *AB.*, VIII. 25.
24 2. 2; 3. 1; 3. 3.
25 *AB.*, VII. 26; *TS.*, III. 5. 2. 1.
26 94. 2-4 and also 126. 2.
27 *Gau. Dharm.*, XI. 15. 17. *Manu.* XI. 33 *Yājña.*, I. 313. *Sāyaṇa.*, intro. pp. 5-6.
28 *AB.*, VIII. 24-28.
29 Cf. *AV.*, III. 19; Kau. Sut. 14. 22-23; Cf. *RV.*, IV. 50. 7-9.
30 Also *'Purohita Karmāṇi'—Pariśiṣṭa* 4.

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यस्य राज्ञो जनपदे स नास्ति विविधैर्भयैः ।
पीड्यते तस्य तद्राष्ट्रं पङ्के गौरिव मज्जति ॥
तस्माद्राजा विशेषेण अथर्वाणं जितेन्द्रियं ।
दानसम्मानसत्कारैर्नित्यं समभिपूजयेत् ॥

The *Pariśiṣṭas* praise the king who has an Atharvan as his Purohita and condemn and curse him who does not employ the Atharvan Purohita. Thus the 'Rāṣṭrasaṁvarga' (*Atharva Pariśiṣṭa* 2) states:

न हविः प्रतिगृह्णन्ति देवताः पितरो द्विजाः ।
तस्य भूमिपतेर्यस्य गृहे नाथर्ववित् गुरुः ॥

Woe betides the king and the nation where there is no Purohita to protect them. There the gods, the Fathers and the Brahmans do not partake of their share of oblations and that nation perishes like a mouldering ant-hill. The prosperity of the entire realm depends upon the Purohita[31]. Particularly those nation and king where and to whom a Bahvṛca or a Chaṅdoga or an Adhvaryu fulfils the functions of the Purohita, there calamities come like a hail-storm. Thus the 'Rāstrasaṁvarga' proclaims: —

बह्वृचो हन्ति वै राष्ट्रमध्वर्युर्नाशयेत्सुतान् ।
छन्दोगो धनं नाशयेत्तस्मादाथर्वणो गुरुः ॥
अज्ञानाद्वा प्रमादाद्वा यस्य स्याद्बह्वृचो गुरुः ।
देशराष्ट्रपुरामात्य नाशस्तस्य न संशयः ॥
यदि वाध्वर्यवं राजा नियुनक्ति पुरोहितं ।
शस्त्रेण वध्यते क्षिप्रं परिक्षीणार्थवाहनः ॥
यथैव पङ्गुरध्वानमपक्षीच्छाणभोजनम्(?) ।
एवं छन्दोगगुरुणा राजा वृद्धिं न गच्छति ॥

The nation perishes, princes die, the wealth of the nation is wasted, the country turns barren and the king himself is killed either on the battlefield or by the dagger of an assasin if there were no Atharvan Purohita—that all protecting power—present at the court of the king. Even among the Atharvan priests the selection of a Purohita is restricted to the followers of the Paippalāda or the Śaunakīya school of the *AV*. They only should be appointed as Purohita and not even the followers of other schools of the *AV*. such as Jalada or Mauda. The same 'Rāṣṭrasaṁvarga prescribes: —

पैप्पलादं गुरुं कुर्यात् श्रीराष्ट्रारोग्यवर्धनम् ।
तथा शौनकिनं चापि देवमन्त्रविपश्चितम् ॥

* * * * *

31 *RV*. IV. 50. 8.

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पुरोधा जलदो यस्य मौदो वा स्यात्कथञ्चन ।
अब्दाद्दशभ्यो मासेभ्यः राष्ट्रभ्रंशं स गच्छति ॥

Such *Pariśiṣṭas* even indulge in fabricating legendary materials for upholding their claims to the office of the king's Purohita. Being formally appointed[32] as Purohita, he acted as king's teacher, councillor, dispenser of justice and was even inclined to interfere in royal succession[33]. He performed all the domestic ritual of the king's household with its many formula and magic rites. He even went to the battlefield along with his patron king to secure victory for him with the help of his magic power[34]. The main duty of the Atharvan Purohita was to protect the person of the king, safeguard his interests, his sovereignty, his subjects and his country. The *Kauśika Sūtra* and the *Atharva Pariśiṣṭas* rightly show the king and his chaplain in close cooperation. The 'Purohitakarmāṇi'[35] prescribes a ritual of the "Svastyayana" at dawn and the blessing of each article of the king's equipment[36], the ritual of Suvarṇadāna etc, the nocturnal magic performance before the image of night entitled "piṣṭarātryāḥ kalpaḥ"[37], for the safety of the king at night, Grahaśānti and other Mahāśāntis, the regular performance of Bhūmidoha, Gotarpaṇa etc. as the duties of a Purohita. The ritual of the Atharvan mantras as prescribed by the *Kauśika Sūtra* brings home to us the usefulness of the Purohita not only to the mighty kings but also to the ordinary folks serving them in various capacities. In the Atharvan performances the Purohita is as important as water, fire, the plant or the amulet used. It is he who is everything in the rite. As Purohita he handles the materials and makes them efficacious. He knows when and how to perform the rites. He consecrates the king, takes oaths with him, undergoes a part of the ceremony, secures success for him, and finally gets his *dakṣiṇā* as reward. He is adept in witchcraft practices and he is physician, magician, priest, advisor, protector, philosopher and friend—all in one. Without him nothing can

32 *AB.* VIII. 27. 33 Hopkins, *JAOS.*, XIII. 151 ff.

34 *AV.*, III. 19; *RV.*, VII. 18. Purohitas acted as Hotṛs *RV.*, X. 66. 13; 70. 7. e.g. *Devapi* and *Agni RV.*, I. 1. 1; II. 3. 2; 11. 1; V. 11. 2 They acted as Saman singers also *PB.*, XIV. 6. 8

35 *Pariśiṣṭa* 4.

36 Quoted by Hemadri, 'Caturvargacintamaṇi'-Vratakhaṇḍa, V. 2. 626.

37 This is "नैशम् अभयं कर्म" according to Paithinasi, the son of Mausali.

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be done. He recites the mantras, enkindles fire, offers oblations, washes the patient, ties the amulet and drives away both the disease and the demon of disease. He commands wide range of knowledge—he knows the names and properties of plants, he can foretell the effects of omens, he can avert calamities, knows the use of weapons, marches with the king to the battle-field, can fight and lay traps for the enemy and as Bhṛgvaṅgirovid he has his place reserved as the supervisor of the Vedic ceremonies. He wields his staff against the sorcerers and equally wields his influence to pacify the wrath of Varuṇa. In the entire sphere of domestic rites, a house-holder cannot do without his Purohita who is as indispensable to the poor as to the rich. He is equally helpful to man and woman, young and old, in private and in public. Thus the whole field of the Atharvan practices is the stage laid up for the activities of the Atharvan priest—the Purohita. Hence it is aptly summarized[38] :—

"That the Atharvavedins finally succeeded in making heard their clamorous demand for this office (of Purohita) is probably due to their superior, if not exclusive, knowledge of witchcraft which was doubtless regarded in the long run as the most practised and trenchant instrument for the king and people."

V. W. Karambelkar

38 M. Bloomfield, The *Atharva-Veda* (Grundriss Series), p. 30.

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The Vākāṭakas

Like Delhi of the present day, Magadha was the then seat of the central government; whosoever occupied it was regarded as the sovereign power. Accordingly, the Guptas gained their importance; but due to the efforts of Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, and his son Pravarasena I, who had performed all the seven soma sacrifices, at least three Vājapeyas[1] and four Aśvamedhas[2] and had assumed the title of Samrāṭ,[3] the dynasty rose to such a great prominence that Guptas thought it indispensable to win over them by matrimonial alliance. The Poona[4] copper-plate grant and Riddhapur[5] plates bear testimony to the fact that Prabhāvatī Gupta, daughter of Candragupta II, was married to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II. According to Dr. Altekar[6] this alliance had some political purpose. It made the Guptas secure from the rising power of the Vākāṭakas. This might have resulted in Guptas concentrating on the uprooting of the Hūṇas from India.

The history of the Vākāṭakas is shrouded in such a mystery that one still hesitates to say anything definitely about their home, caste, chronology and capital. Their obscure origin is refetred to in the Purāṇas[7]:

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान्
भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ।

"The valiant ruler by name Pravīra son of Vindhyaśakti will enjoy for sixty years the city of Kāñcanakā. Jayaswal in his "Imperial History of India"[8] relies also on the text of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, in which there is a list of successive dynasties. But a very reliable source of information is the Ajantā cave inscriptions and copper-

1 Chammak Plates: *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 12, p. 246.
2 *Ibid.*,
3 *Ibid.*, p. 243. (विष्णु वृध्यसगोत्रस्य साम्राजो वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य)
4 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XV, pp. 42-43.
5 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIII, p. 48.
6 Altekar and Majumdar, *Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 169.
7 Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 50.
8 p. 2.

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plate grants of the Vākāṭakas. Jayaswal[9] deciphered Vākāṭaka coins and furnished us with some more information. He says[10], "From coins we get the names of the two Vākāṭaka emperors—Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I." He[11] writes that later coins of the Vākāṭakas are not available as they afterwards adopted the Gupta coinage. But according to Prof. Mirashi[12], Jayaswal's readings are all doubtful and have not been accepted by other scholars. He firmly maintains that the Vākāṭakas never issued any coins but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom.

The Vākāṭakas as such are not known to literature except that some inference can be drawn from Pravarasena II's *Setubandha Kāvya*. In the *Meghadūta*[13] of Kālidāsa there is mention of Rāmagiri mountain which is according to Prof. Mirashi[14] the same as Rāmṭek near Nagpur which lay about a mile and a half from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandī-vardhana. This fact is well attested by other records[15] which also mention that Kālidāsa stayed at the court of the Vākāṭakas.

Coming to the home of the Vākāṭakas we are faced with a great controversy whether they hailed from the north or from the south. Of course, it is certain that they came neither from the extreme north nor from the extreme south. The Purāṇic description[16] of the Vindhyaka or the Vindhyan dynasty limits the problem to the Vindhyan region. But again the question arises whether they hailed from the north or the south of the Vindhyas.

One view is that they originally hailed from Bijnaur-Bagāt, a village in Bundelkhand[17]. It is quite possible that a family from the village of Bagāt or Vakāt may have been known as Vākāṭaka, but the connection of early Vākāṭaka with this territory is not yet definitely proved.[18]

9 *History of India*, pp. 71-73.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 71, 61.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
12 *Annual Bulletin of Nagpur University Historical Society*, No. 1, p. 9.
13 Stanza 1. Line 4.
14 "Location of Ramgiri" *Nagpur University Journal*, vol. IX. p. 8 f.
15 (a) K. H. Dhruva. Padya racnā-ni-aitihāsika ālocanā, p. 235.
(b) Kṣemendra: *Kāvyamālā-Aucitya-vicār-carcā*, p. 139.
16 Pargiter, *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 50.
17 Jayaswal, *History of India*, pp. 66-68.
18 Altekar & Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

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Dr. Altekar[19] suggests that the village Vakāṭa to which Vākāṭakas belonged was rather to the south than to the north of the Vindhyas. In support of this argument he[20] refers to a third century inscription from Amarāvatī in Āndhra country which shows that a Vākāṭaka pilgrim had paid a visit to the local stūpa. He might have come from the Vakāṭa village.

Prof. Mirashi[21] seems to be almost certain that they hailed from the south of the Vindhyas. He relies on Sanskrit and Prākrit inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas which bear a remarkable similarity with the Pallava grants. The early Vākāṭakas called themselves Hāritīputras the descendants of Hāritī while Śātakarṇis, Kadambas and Cāḷukyas also called themselves Hāritīputra.[22] Prof. Mirashi is definite that Vākāṭakas also originally belonged to the south. The Purāṇas[23] mention two Vākāṭaka capitals—Purikā and Canakā, and from the description in the *Harivaṁśa* the former seems to have been situated somewhere at the foot of Ṛkṣavat or Satpura mountain[24]. Ṛkṣavat is mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa[25] as the source of Tāpī, Payoṣṇī etc. तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या प्रमुखा ऋक्षसंभवाः ।

If we put reliance on Bhau Daji[26], a well-known antiquarian, who remarked while editing the inscription in cave XVI at Ajantā that the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, the theory of their belonging to the south would not stand, but while interpreting Purāṇic records Dr. Altekar[27] tried to show that Vindhyaśakti came after Kilakila kings and not from Kailakila (Yavana) countries. On this interpretation we are again inclined to hold the view that this home was in the south. However, Dr. Altekar has kept this question still open to further research.

19 *Ibid.* 20 *Ibid.*

21 *Annual Bulletin of Nagpur University Historical Society,* No. 1, p. 10.

22 As quoted by Mirashi *Ibid.,* p. 9.

23 Pargiter, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

24 Cf. *Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇupurāṇa,* 38, 22, ऋक्षवन्तं समभितस्तीरे तवैव च निरामये, निर्मिता सा पुरी राज्ञा पुरिका नाम नामतः । Relied on Mirashi, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

25 Bk. II, Chapter III, sl. 11.

26 *JBBRAS.,* vol. VII, p. 69 f.

27 *Op. cit.,* footnote 3.

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Bühler[28] while concluding his article on Illichpur grant warns against the identification of Vindhyaśakti Vākāṭaka with the Kailakila Yavana Vindhyaśakti; but Aiyangar[29] does not support Bühler's objection. Dandekar[30] is also of the opinion that Bühler's objections against the generally accepted identification of Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra of the Purāṇas with Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty are without any valid evidence.

Regarding the caste of the Vākāṭākas there are arguments in favour of their being Brāhmaṇas and this, Prof. Mirashi[31] holds, is the prevailing view. Jayaswal[32] and Altekar[33] also hold the same view. But the arguments on which this view is based are subject to refutation. It cannot be definitely said that they were Brāhmaṇas, because the word "dvija" does not necessarily mean Brāhmaṇa; it may refer to Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas as well.[34] Again, the view that because they belonged to Bharadvāja gotra they were Brāhmaṇas is not quite tenable. It was the practice of the royal families to be affiliated to the Vedic gotra of their preceptor.

Jayaswal's[35] theory of Cedi Era is also not reliable. However, fortunately Vākāṭaka-Gupta matrimonial alliance is a fixed point to settle this question. Almost all the writers on this subject, viz. Aiyangar, Altekar, Mirashi and others have equally asserted that it is convenient to take this alliance as a starting point for determining Vākāṭaka chronology.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar[36] has discussed the chronology very successfully but Prof. Mirashi[37] has at some places differed from him; both the distinguished historians, however, are unanimous in assigning 250 A.D. and 270 A.D. to Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena I respectively. Majumdar[38] regards the dynasty to have come to an end on

28 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 242.
29 *Ancient India*, vol. I, p. 134.
30 *A History of the Guptas*, p. 38.
31 *Op. cit.*, p. 9.
32 *Op. cit.*, p. 66.
33 *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
34 Bühler, *Archæological Survey of Western India*, vol. VI, p. 138.
35 *Op. cit.*, p. 108.
36 *JRASB.*, vol. XII, pp. 1 f.
37 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXIV, No. 2 p. 155.
38 *Op. cit.*

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the succession of the last king Harisena in 475 A. D., while Mirashi[39] takes it to be 500 A.D. a son of Harisena whose name, he says, is not known. According to the XIV Ajantā cave inscriptions[40] and also one of the most complete copper-plate grants[41] of the Vākāṭakas it is found that there had been eight Vākāṭaka rulers. From all this it may safely be concluded that they ruled at least for three centuries.

Regarding the extent of their kingdom, the copper-plate grants of Pravarasena II[42] and Ajantā cave inscriptions[43] furnish us with a very vivid account. According to the latter the emperor Harisena Vākāṭaka had conquered Kuntala, Avantī, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikūṭaka, Lāṭa, Āndhra etc. (i.e. 490-520 A.D.).

The Bālāghāṭ plates[44] further mention that the Vākāṭakas had their own feudatories. The Seoni[45] and Illichpur[46] copper-plates roughly indicate the boundary of Vākāṭaka empire during Pravarasena II's time. Relying on this Bühler[47] suggested that the proposal of Gen. Cunningham[48] to fix the boundaries of the Vākāṭaka kingdom between Mahādeo Hills in the north, the Godāvarī in the south, the Ajantā hills on the west and the sources of the Mahānadī on the east might be accepted.

So great was the prominence of the Vākāṭaka that Prof. Dubreuil,[49] one of the foremost writers of ancient Indian History, is inclined to say "of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the 3rd to the 6th century the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilization of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākāṭakas".

What a great influence the Vākāṭakas might have exercised on the minds of the then rulers of India can be very well imagined from their

39 *Op. cit.*
40 Bühler, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.
41 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, pp. 239 ff.
42 *Ibid.*
43 Bühler, *op. cit.*
44 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. IX, pp. 270 ff.
45 *JASB.*, vol. V, pp. 726 ff.
46 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 240.
47 *Ibid.*
48 *Archæological Reports*, vol. IX, p. 123.
49 *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71.

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matrimonial relations. As already shown the famous inscription of Riddhapur[50] copper-plates and Poona[51] plates of Prabhāvatīgupta bear a clear testimony that a Gupta princess by name Prabhāvatīgupta, the daughter of the famous king Candragupta II, was married with the Vākāṭaka Prince Rudrasena II. The daughter of Bhava-nāga, one of the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī, was married to Vākāṭaka crown prince Gauṭamīputra, the son Pravarasena I. The Vākāṭaka records never fail to mention that Bhavanāga was the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I[52]. It is to be noted that during Pravarasena I's reign his son Gautamīputra might have died, for the fact that he received no title of any kind and that he is only incidentally mentioned shows that he did not actually rule. This is also confirmed from the Ajantā cave XIV[53] inscription where genealogy of the ruling kings of the Vākāṭakas is given and the name Gautamīputra is omitted. That the Kadambas gave their daughter to Vākāṭakas is inferred from Taḷagunḍa Pillar[54] inscription which is a posthumous record of Kākusthavarman put up by his son Śāntivarman.

Dr. (Miss) Virji[55] in her thesis "*Maitrakas of Valabhī*", has tried to show that a marriage had taken place between the Vākāṭakas (ruling over Avantī) and Maitrakas (ruling over Valabhī) and that an alliance had been concluded for the specific purpose of ending the Hūṇa menace. This reminds us of a similar alliance between the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas, so we are led to the inference that the then native rulers of India might be very shrewd and at the same time keen to drive away the foreigners out of India by uniting internally for a common cause. The Princess chosen for the marriage seems to have been Candralekhā, who is described in the *Darśanasāra* of Devasena as the daughter of the king of Ujjayinī and the queen of Dhruvasena I of Valabhīpura[56]. Dr. Miss Virji[57] in support of her argument maintains that Ujjain had by that time definitely come under the sway of the Vākāṭakas. This she relies on the Ajantā inscription of Harisena[58]. But there is no data available for

50 *Op. cit.*
51 *Op. cit.*
52 Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 62.
53 Bühler, *op. cit.*
54 *Epigraphia Carnatika*, vol. IV.
55 *Manuscript Copy*, p. 43.
56 Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 68.
57 *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
58 Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 129 ff.

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Vākāṭaka-Valabhī matrimonial alliance from any of the inscriptions nor is there any such reference in Valabhī inscriptions.

By the combined labours of Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena, the Vākāṭakas must have reached a stage of glory. King Pravarasena I assumed imperial titles like *Samrāṭ* and performed Aśvamedha sacrifices. He was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I who gave up the title of *Samrāṭ*, and the Purāṇas state that the dynasty of Vindhyakas (Vākāṭakas) came to an end after Pravīra[59]. The cause of their sudden change might be due to the glorious conquest of Samudragupta. What is clear so far is that the high position achieved by Pravarasena I suffered an eclipse either at the very end of his reign or as the direct result of his death, and when the Vākāṭaka state emerged under his grandson, it did so with diminished lustre[60].

Rudrasena I was succeeded by his son (A.D. 345) Pṛthvīsena who rehabilitated his dynastic fortunes. The Ajantā inscriptions seem to give him credit for the conquest of Kuntala (Western Deccan and Northern Mysore). An inscription at Nacaneka-Talai[61] in Bundelkhand refers to "Vyāghradeva who meditated on the feet of the Mahārāja of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious Pṛthvīsena". This record conveys a good idea of his extensive dominion. Thus once again we see the revival of the Vākāṭaka power.

Pṛthvīsena I was succeeded by his son Rudrasena II, the son-in-law of the illustrious Gupta king Candragupta II, but he died soon after his accession; and thereafter began the period of regency of Prabhāvatī Gupta during which the Guptas virtually assumed the reigns of the Vākāṭaka kingdom by sending several officials including the poet-laureate Kālidāsa to the Vākāṭaka court. It was during this period that the Gupta culture was spread among the Vākāṭakas.

Pravarasena II was the successor of Rudrasena II but came to the throne after the end of regency of Prabhāvatī Gupta. His original name was Dāmodarasena, but on accession he assumed the coronation name[62] of Pravarasena II. His reign was very successful. There are some nine copper-plate grants issued in his time. His close contact

59 As quoted by Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, vol. p. 137.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
61 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LV, p. 225 (Dec. 1926).
62 अभिषेक नाम, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XII, p. 240.

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with the poet Kālidāsa is inferred from the *Setubandha kāvya* of Pravarasena II. It marks a great literary advance in his time. His later successor Pṛthvīsena and Devasena were not so powerful.

At last the great Vākāṭaka Harisena of Vatsagulma branch annexed the kingdom and is said to have made extensive conquests in all directions.

The Vākāṭaka empire which was at the zenith of its glory at about 510 A.D. during Harisena's reign disappeared within less than forty years[63]. The dominion of the Vākāṭakas soon passed into the hands of the Cālukyas. It has been argued that the immediate cause of the disappearance of the Vākāṭaka power was the rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire which ruled over the whole of Deccan during the sixth century A.D.[64]. But Dr. Altekar does not agree with this view. He says that its real causes are still unknown, but after all it is certain that by c. 540 the Kadambas of Karṇāṭaka, the Kalacuris of Northern Mahārāṣṭra and the Nalas of Bastar State managed to absorb most of the territories during the weak rule of the successor of Harisena[65].

Thus by the middle of the sixth century this powerful dynasty vanished into thin air.*

B. S. Purohit

63 Altekar & Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

65 *ABORI.*, XXIV, p. 149.

* Paper rerd at the 15th All-India Oriental Conference held in Bombay in 1949.

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MISCELLANY

Udamāna in Bengal Epigraphs*

Recently I had an opportunity of examining the Belwā copper-plate inscription of king Vigrahapāla III (*circa* A.D. 1055-70) of Bengal, which has been published with plates by Mr. M. R. Gupta in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, vol. LVI, Parts 3-4, pp. 60-65. It was found that the passage (lines 27-29) containing details about the land granted by the charter has not been correctly deciphered. It actually reads: *Śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau Phāṇitavīthī-viṣay-āntaḥ-pāti-Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala-samvaddha-adhunā-hala-kulit-ārddha-Lovaṇi-kāmaḥ ṛju-khaṇḍīkṛta sārddha-udamāna-tray-ottara-sapad-āḍhavāpa-tray-ādhika-droṇ-dvay-opeta-kulya-pramāṇ-āṁśa-varjjita-svasambaddh-āvic-chinna-tal-opeta-ekādaś-odamān-ādhika-sārddha-sapta-droṇ-opeta-kulya-traya-pramāṇ-āṁśe, etc.* The language as usual is not free from grammatical errors; but the meaning is clear. Thus the land granted by the charter in question formed parts (*arddha*) of the recently cultivated (*adhunā-hala-kulita*) locality called Lovaṇikāma situated in the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* within the Phāṇitavīthī *viṣaya* of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. Phāṇita was originally the name of a *vīthī* (sub-division); but later it came to form a *viṣaya* (district) called Phāṇitavīthī (cf. Kudūra, Kudar-*āhara*, Kudūrāhāra-*viṣaya*; Kheṭaka, Kheṭak-*āhāra*, Kheṭakhāra-*viṣaya*, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 42). The locality in question was divided (*ṛju-khaṇḍīkṛta*) into two parts, one of which measuring 1 *kulya* 2 *droṇas* 3¼ *āḍhavāpas* and 3½ *udamānas* was left out, while the second part measuring 3 *kulyas* 7½ *droṇas* and 11 *udamānas* was made the subject of the grant. In this connection, I also examined the Amgachhi plate of the same Pāla king, finally edited by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XV, pp. 293-301. It was found that the passage dealing with the measurement of the gift land in this record (lines 25-26) actually reads: *adhunā-hala-kulita-kākinī-tray-ādhik-odamāna-dvay-opeta-sapad-āḍhavāp-ottarah droṇadvaya-same-*

* Paper read at the Nagpur Session of the Indian History Congress, 1950.

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ta-shaṭ-kulya-pramāṇa, although Banerji failed to read it correctly. The land granted by this charter thus measured 6 *kulyas* 2 *droṇas* 1¼ *āḍhavāpas* 2 *udamānas* and 3 *kākinīs*.

In a paper entitled 'Kulyavāpa, Droṇavāpa and Āḍhavāpa' published in the *Bhāratakaumudī*, Part II, pp. 943-48, we have tried to show how 4 *āḍhavāpas* (*āḍhakas* or *āḍhāvāpas*) made 1 *droṇavāpa* (i.e., *droṇa*) and 8 *droṇavāpas* or *droṇas* made 1 *kulyavāpa* (i.e., *kulya*) and how originally a *kulyavāpa*, a *droṇavāpa* and an *āḍhavāpa* measured roughly about 128-160 Bighās (of 3 1/40 acres each), about 16-20 Bighās and about 4-5 Bighās respectively. It was also shown how each one of these three denominations gradually came to indicate different areas in different parts of the country. It may also be pointed out that, even in ancient Bengal, sometimes *droṇa* (*droṇavāpa*) and *āḍhavāpa* were each regarded as the standard land-measure like the *kulya* (*kulyavāpa*) in the above records of Vigrahapāla III and in numerous other inscriptions. The Govindapur plate (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 96) of Lakṣmaṇasena (*circa* A.D. 1179-1206) gives the measurement of the land granted as *saptadaśa-unmān-ādhika-ṣaṣṭi-bhū-droṇ-ātmaka*, i.e., 60 *droṇas* and 17 *unmānas*. It will be seen that 60 *droṇas* would make 7 *kulyas* and 4 *droṇas*, or 7½ *kulyas*. The Tarppandighi plate of the same king (*ibid*, p. 102) speaks of *pañc-onmān-ādhika-viṁśaty-uttar-āḍhavāpa-śat-aik-ātmaka*, i.e., 120 *āḍhavāpas* and 5 *unmānas*. Now 120 *āḍhavāpas* were actually equal to 30 *droṇas* (*droṇavāpas*), or 3 *kulyas* (*kulyavāpas*) and 6 *droṇas* (*droṇavāpas*). It is interesting to note that even the *unmāna*, which is mentioned in these records as a sub-division of the *āḍhavāpa*, is referred to as the standard land-measure in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Plate of Viśvarūpasena (*ibid*, pp. 143-48). In line 59 of this record (cf. *ibid*, p. 179, note 8) the word *unmāna* has been used as a synonym of *udāna* which is mentioned in numerous passages of the inscription as the standard land measure. Apparently the same *unmāna* = *udāna* is mentioned in the Amgachhi and Belwā plates referred to above as *udamāna*.

The relation of *udamāna* = *unmāna* = *udāna* and of its subdivision, the *kākinī*, with the *āḍhavāpa* is difficult to determine. The word *kākini* seems to be the same as *kānī* which is a land-measure even now prevalent in many parts of Bengal, although the area indicated by the *kānī* is not the same in different places. According to Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. V, pp. 95, 448, a *kānī* is a

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little above an acre in the Dacca and Mymensing Districts. It is regarded as 1/16 of a *don* (*droṇa*) in the Mymensingh District. In the Faridpur District in Central Bengal, 30 *kānīs* are regarded as equal to a *pākhī* (3622 square cubits) of land. This would make the *kānī* about 120 square cubits. In Sandvip in the Noakhali District of South-Eastern Bengal, 4 *kaḍās* make 1 *gaṇḍā*, 20 *gaṇḍās* make 1 *kānī* and 16 *kānīs* make 1 *don* or *droṇa* (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 332). This scheme would suggest that the ancient *kākinī* (modern *kānī*) was 1/16 of a *droṇa* or *droṇavāpa*. None of these indications is however supported by the inscriptions. The Anulia plate (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 87) speaks of *sakākinīka-saptatriṁśad-unmān-ādkik-āḍhavāp-ānvita-nava-droṇ-ottara-bhū-pāṭak-aik-ātmaka*, i.e. 1 *pāṭaka* 9 *droṇas* 1 *āḍhavāpa* 37 *unmānas* and 1 *kākinī*. In passing it may be pointed out that, according to the Gunaighar plate (*Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, p. 332), a *pāṭaka* was equal to 40 *droṇavāpas* (i.e., 5 *kulyavāpas*). Thus here a land-measure much bigger than the *kulyavāpa* and *droṇavāpa* is found in use.[1] Another land-measure bigger than the *kulyavāpa* and *droṇavāpa* was the *khārī* or *khārikā* which is known from records like the Madhainagar plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III. p. 112). This is no doubt the same as the *khārika* or *khārīvāpa* of the *Amarakoṣa* (*Vaiśya-varga*, verse 10). As 16 *droṇas* are known to have made one *khārī*, the *khārīvāpa* was apparently equal to 16 *droṇas* or *droṇavāpas*, i.e., 2 *kulyas* or *kulyavāpas*. Whatever that may be, the Anulia plate cited above shows that an *āḍhavāpa* was equal to more than 37 *unmānas* (*udamānas* or *udānas*) and since the *kākinī* was a subdivision of the

1 The Saktipur plate (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, pp. 216 ff.) of Lakṣmaṇasena, however, uses the word *pāṭaka* both in the sense of the land-measure and in that of a part of a village. It speaks of the six *pāṭakas* called Rāghavahaṭṭa, Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā, Vijahārapura and Dāmaravaḍā as the *ṣaṭ-pāṭaka*. The six *pāṭakas* are mentioned in two groups: (1) Rāghavahaṭṭa-pāṭaka together with the Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā and Nimā *pāṭakas* (all the three together measuring 2 *pāṭakas* and 4 *droṇas* with the granted portion of Vāllihitā being separately mentioned as consisting of 4 *droṇas*), measuring 36 *droṇas* and yielding an income of 250 coins, and (2) Vijahārapura-pāṭaka, together with the Dāmaravaḍā *pāṭaka*, measuring 53 *droṇas* and yielding an income of 250 coins. The two groups are said to have measured 89 *droṇas* with the exception of land under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and yielded an income of 500 coins. It seems that much of the land of Vārahakoṇā, Vāllihitā and Nimā was excluded.

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unmāna, a much higher number of the former would have been regarded as equal to an *āḍhavāpa*. That the number of *unmānas* in an *āḍhavāpa* was even bigger than that suggested by the above inscription is actually known from another record. The Naihati (Sitahati) plate of Vallālasena (*circa* 1154-79 A.D.), father of Lakṣmaṇasena (*ibid*, p. 74) speaks of *kāka-traya-ādhika-catvāriṁśad-unmāna-sameta-āḍhaka-nava-droṇ-ottara-sapta-bhū-pāṭak-ātmaka*, i.e., 7 *pāṭakas* 9 *droṇas* 1 *āḍhaka* (*āḍhavāpa*) 40 *unmānas* and 3 *kākas*. Whether *kāka* mentioned here is the same as *kākinī* of the other records or whether the former was a subdivision of the latter cannot be determined; but it is known from the above inscription that more than 40 *unmānas* made one *āḍhavāpa*.

The lost Sundarban plate (*ibid*, p. 171) of Lakṣmaṇasena has a passage which seems to read: *dvādaś-āṅgul-ādhika-hastena dvātriṁśad-dhasta-parimit-onmānen-odhastayā* (?) *sārddha-kākinī-dvay-ādhika-trayoviṁśaty-unmān-ottara-āḍhavāpa-sametaḥ bhū-droṇa-tray-ātmakaḥ*. The measurement of the land is thus given as 7 *droṇas* 1 *āḍhavāpa* 23 *unmānas* and 2½ *kākinīs*. In the *Dacca University History of Bengal*, vol. I, p. 653, note 1, the passages *dvādaś-āṅgul-ādhika-hastena* and *dvātriṁśad-dhasta-parimit-onmānena* have been taken to indicate a cubit of 12 *aṅgulas* or digits and an *unmāna* of 32 cubits respectively. But the first passage seems to refer to the cubit of 36 *aṅgulas* or 27 inches (cf. Hunter's reference to the cubit of $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches as prevalent in Sandvip in the Noakhali District) and the second to the *nala* or measuring rod of 32 cubits of the above length (cf. measuring rod of 56 cubits mentioned in the Anulia plate). Hunter also refers to the measuring rod of 22 cubits of 34 inches each prevalent in the Naldi Pargana of the Faridpur District (*ibid*, vol. V, pp. 322 ff). It is difficult to take the *unmāna*, as in the work cited above, in the sense of a linear(?) measure of 32 cubits. We may however take *unmāna* of the second of the two passages quoted from the Sundarban plate in the sense of the land-measure of that name. In that case we have possibly to regard its area to have been theoretically 32×32 cubits $= 704$ square cubits corresponding to about 1/9 of a Bighā, although actually, in the present case, it was 2304 square cubits, as the cubit is said specially to have been 36 *aṅgulas* in length instead of the usual 24 *aṅgulas*. This is not quite irreconcilable with the details gathered from inscriptions. Since, as we have

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said above, the *āḍhavāpa* was originally equal to about 5 Bighās and since the *unmāna* may have been about 1/9 of a Bighā, it is possible to suggest that 45 *unmānas* made one *āḍhavāpa*. But it is impossible to be sure on this point in the present state of our knowledge. Moreover the passages *sārddha-udamāna-tray-ottara-sapad-āḍhavāpa-traya* (3¼ *āḍhavāpas* and 3½ *udamānas*) and *udamāna-dvay-opeta-sapād-āḍhavāpa* (1¼ *āḍhavāpas* and 2 *udamānas*) in the records of Vigrahapāla III appear to suggest that the number of *udamānas* in an *āḍhavāpa* was easily divisible by 4 and was therefore an even number like 44, 48, 52, 56 or 60.

A passage in the unsatisfactorily preserved Bhowal or India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 9, text, line 41) seems to read : *kāk-on-āṣṭāviṁśati-gaṇḍ-ādhika-āḍh-aik-opeta-droṇ-aik-ānvita, etc.* The reading of *gaṇḍā* in the passage is not beyond doubt; but I cannot suggest anything more probable. Thus *gaṇḍā*, instead of the *udamāna = unmāna = udāna*, appears to be mentioned in this record as a subdivision of the *āḍha*, no doubt the same as *āḍhaka* or *āḍhavāpa*. It may be suggested that the *kāka* is the same as the *kākinī* and the *gaṇḍā* is no other than the *udamāna = unmāna = udāna*. But it is also possible that both *gaṇḍā* and *kāka* were smaller than the *kākinī*. The second suggestion seems to be supported by the relation between the *gaṇḍā* and the *kānī* (i.e., *kākinī*) as known in many parts of Bengal at the present time. The word *kāka* is now used in Bengal to indicate a denomination which is ¼ of a *kaḍā* (i.e., *cowrie*) and 1/16 of a *gaṇḍā*.

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Bairām Khān Khān-I-Khānān : His age and the date of Birth*

Dr. Vincent Smith makes a curious mistake about the age of Bairām Khān and the date of his birth. On the authority of Blochmann he states that Bairām Khān was born about 1524 A.D. and he died at the age of thirty-six or thirty-seven. 'Bairām Khān is said to have been sixteen years of age at the time of the battle of Kanauj, in 1540 (Blochmann, Ain, vol. i, p. 315), and, consequently, must have been born about 1524. He was still a young man, thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age, when he perished, in 1561'[1]. As Dr. V. Smith quotes the authority of Blochmann, the mistake should be attributed to him. Blochmann writes: 'When sixteen years old, he entered Humāyūn's army, fought in the battle of Qanauj (10th Muharram, 947), and fled to the Rájah of Lak'hnor'.[2] The sentence has been interpreted by Dr. Smith to mean that Bairām entered Humāyūn's service immediately before the battle of Qanauj and has thus made the mistake about his age but most probably Blochmann did not mean this. The *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, upon which he mainly based his article, does not say so.[3] However Dr. Smith has been responsible for misleading other scholars who have since written on the subject. Mr S. N. Banerjee incorrectly corrects De Laet or Pelsaert when he refers to Bairām's having reached old age by commenting in a note: 'Bairām Khān was a young man in his thirty-seventh year. He was born about 1524.'[4] In his illuminating monograph on Akbar Mr. Laurence Binyon, while discussing Bairām Khān's rebellion and downfall, remarks: 'Moreover, he was still a young man, and might well be suspected of cherishing ambitions on his own account.'[5] Mr. M.S. Commissariat, while relating the assassination of Bairām Khān at Pātan in Gujarāt, states: 'The

* A paper read at the Indian History Congress, held at Cuttack in December, 1949.

1 *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 2nd Ed., 1919, p. 46 n 2.

2 *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Blochmann, vol. i, p. 315, 2nd Ed., p. 330.

3 Calcutta text, vol. i, p. 372.

4 De Laet's *'Description of India and Fragment of Indian History,'* translated into English by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 143 n. 22

5 *Akbar* by Laurence Binyon, Peter Davies, 1932, p. 51.

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ex-vazir, in spite of his long and distinguished public career, was not more than about thirty-six years of age at the time of his death'.[6]

That Bairām Khān did not die as a young man but reached old age is testified to by several historians. In Badāūnī we find that Bairām himself refers to his old age (زمان پیری).[7] Abu-'l-Fazl, 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī and Ahmad bin Bahbal also refer to Bairām's having reached old age.[8] 'Abdul-Bāqī was closely associated with Bairām Khān's son, Khān Khānān 'Abdur-Rahīm and Ahmad bin Bahbal's father had served Bairām Khān and was intimately associated with him. Consequently their statements should be regarded as trustworthy. In De Laet or Pelsaert as well we find that Bairām asked leave to go to Mecca in consideration of his old age.[9]

There can be no doubt therefore that Bairām Khān died at an advanced age and he could not be born in 1524 A.D., as Dr. Vincent Smith says. No original authority of the period supports his statement that Bairām died as a young man. It is difficult to ascertain the exact date of his birth for no historical work, which gives an account of his life and career, mentions it. The only work that says anything definite about it is the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī* which gives the age of Bairām Khān at the time of his death as clear fifty-three.[10] His death occurred on 14 Jumāda-al-awwāl, 968/31 January, 1561; so he was born about the middle of 915 A.H./October, 1509. The date of the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, in spite of its great importance as an original authority for the history of Bairām Khān, cannot be accepted as it contradicts the statements of several reliable and trustworthy authorities. The *Haft Iqlīm* and the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* say that Bairām entered the Mughul service at the age of sixteen while from Firishta and the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī* it appears that

6 *A History of Gujarāt*, Longmans, 1938, p. 473.

7 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Calcutta text, vol. ii, p. 38; also vol. iii, p. 190 where we are told that in early life he was in the service of Bābur and in middle age secured promotion in the service of Humāyūn.

8 *Akbar-nāma*, Calcutta text, vol. ii, p. 99, English Translation, p. 148; *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmi*, Calcutta text, vol. ii, p. 41: درین آخر عمر; *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi*, India Office Library MS., fol. 179b: در آخر عمر, fol. 185b: این عمر آخر من.

9 *Hoyland & Banerjee, op. cit.*, p. 143.

10 Fol. 188b: در آن ایام سن مبارک ایشان به پنجاه و سه ۵۳ سال رسیده بود

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Bairām Khān had joined the Mughul service by his sixteenth year but exactly when we are not told. 'Ārif Qandahārī and Abu-'l-Fazl as well as Ahmad bin Bahbal state that Bairām served the Mughul dynasty for forty years while according to 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī he served it for forty-five years. So Bairām's age at the time of his death must have been either about sixty-one (45+16) or fifty-six (40+16). Besides, we have it from the *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī* that Bairām joined the Mughul service not later than 918 A.H./1512 A.D., the date of the battle of Ghazdawān, and if Khāfī Khān is to be believed, he fought in that battle. If Bairām Khān was sixteen in 918 A.H./1512 A.D., he would be about sixty-six (according to lunar years) at the time of his death in 968 A.H./1561 A.D. And if Bairām was born in 915 A.H./1509 A.D. as we have from the *Ma'dan-i-Akbhār-i-Ahmadī*, he would be only three in 918 A.H./1512 A.D. and the question of his joining Bābur's service at that age would be meaningless and that of his participating in that battle would be absurd. Besides, as pointed out above, we know from Badāūnī, Abu-'l-Fazl, 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī and from the author of the *Ma'dan-i-Akbhār-i-Ahmadī* itself that Bairām Khān arrived at old age. A man of fifty-three could not in all probability have been described as old. For all these reasons we reject the statement of the *Ma'dan-i-Akbhār-i-Ahmadī* that Bairām was fifty-three at the time of his death. It could be inaccurate as regards the age of Bairām Khān just as it is inaccurate regarding the date of his assassination which it gives as 12 Jumāda-as-sānī, 968.[11]

'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī relates that Bairām was born after Yār 'Alī Beg, his grandfather and Saif 'Alī Beg, his father, had passed some time at Badakhshān but does not mention the exact number of years. He, however, says that when Yār 'Alī Beg came to Badakhshān in 885 A.H./1480 A.D., Saif 'Alī was a little boy.[12] A considerable time therefore must have elapsed before he could become a father. But it is not possible to fix the year of Bairām's birth from this fact. We know that Bairām entered the service of Bābur and prince Humāyūn at the age of sixteen. The *Haft Iqlīm* and the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* state that he entered the service of Humāyūn (Jinnat

11 *Ma'dan-i-Akbhār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 188b.

12 *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, vol. i, p. 62.

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Ashyānī at the age of sixteen[13]. This could not be emperor Humāyūn. From Firishta as well as the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-ī-Ahmadī* it appears, however, that Bairām had joined the service of prince Humāyūn before his sixteenth year[14]. 'Abdul-Bāqi Nahāvandī makes the matter explicit by stating that Bairām entered the service of Bābur at the age of sixteen and he served the prince also while in the service of his father[15]. Badāūnī states that in early life Bairām had been in the service of Bābur and Ahmad bin Bahbal says that Bairām had been associated with the Mughul dynasty since the times of Bābur. This view is also supported by the *Subh-i-Sādiq*, India Office Library MS. No. 224 and Khāfī Khān[16]. There can be no doubt that Bairām was in Bābur's service. But this fact also does not enable us to find the date of Bairām's birth unless we know the year in which he joined Bābur. The standard histories of Humāyūn and Akbar's reign are silent on this point. It is from the *'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī*, written from the Safavid side, and Khāfī Khān, a later authority, that we obtain some light. The *'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī* relates that after the defeat of Najm Sānī at the battle of Ghazdawān, Bairām accompanied Bābur's army to Kābul and since then he had been in the service of the Mughul dynasty[17]. This is quite in agreement with and confirms

13 *Haft Iqlīm*, India Office Library MS. No. 724, fol. 182a; *Ma'āsī-ul-Umarā*, vol. i, p. 372.

14 *Firishta*, Lucknow text, vol. i, p. 250; *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi*, ff. 170b-171a.

15 *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī*, vol. i, pp. 62, 64-65, vol. ii, p. 10. From p. 2 of vol. ii, it appears that Bairām had joined the prince before his sixteenth year.

16 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, vol. iii, p. 190; *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi* fol. 170a; *Subh-i-Sādiq* in *Haft Risāla-i-Taqwīm-ul-Buldān, Buhār Library* MS. No. 45, fol. 174b; India Office Library MS. No. 224, fol. 13b; *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, Calcutta text, vol. i, p. 151.

17 *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī*, Buhār Library MS. fol. 19b and MS. in possession of the late Hakīm Habīb-ur-Rahmān Sāhib of Dacca, p. 66:

بیرام خان بہ لوی ترکمان بود کہ بعد از واقعہ غجدان و انہزام سپاہ امیر نجم در مرکب میرزا یار افتادہ بحسب خدمات لایقہ در آن دودمان بمراتب علیا ترقی کردہ۔

The Tihrān lithographed Edition, vol. i, p. 74, does not mention this, though it says that Bairām accompanied the party of Bābur to Kābul.

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the view of Firishta that Bairām joined prince Humāyūn at Kābul[18]. From Khāfī Khān it appears that Bairām participated in the battle and was wounded and he adds that since that time Bairām had always been in the service of Bābur's dynasty[19]. The date of the battle of Ghazdawān is Ramazān, 918/November, 1512[20]. It seems from the context that Bairām had already joined Bābur before the battle but exactly when we cannot say. So Bairām was at least sixteen years old at the end of 918 A.H. and consequently he was born not later than the end of 902 A.H. (918-16)/middle of 1497 A.D.

We have it from Hājī 'Ārif Qandahārī and Abu-'l-Fazl as well as Ahmad bin Bahbal that Bairām served the Mughul dynasty for forty years[21]. 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī says that he served for forty-five years.[22] 'Abdul-Bāqī quotes 'Ārif Qandahārī as one of his authorities and generally follows Abu-'l-Fazl in dealing with Humāyūn and Akbar's reign. There must have been good reason why he differs with them and states that Bairām served the dynasty for forty-five years. 'Abdul-Bāqī made a special and exhaustive investigation into the ancestry and early life of the father of his hero. Bairām died on 14 Jumāda-al-awwāl, 968/31 January, 1561. He must have been at least sixty-one years old at the time of his death as he joined the Mughul service at the age of sixteen and served it for forty-five years. Consequently we find the approximate date of his birth as Jumāda-al-awwāl, 907/November, 1501. Between this date and that arrived at in the above paragraph there is a difference of four years and a few months. Of these two dates, 902 A.H. and 907

18 It should be noted that from Ghazdawān Bābur did not go direct to Kābul, but first to Hisār, from there to Qunduz and from Qunduz to Kābul in 920 A.H./1514 A.D.—*Tārikh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsi*, Buhār Library MS. fol. 17b and Rushbrook Williams: *An empire builder of the sixteenth century*, Longmans, 1918, p. 109.

19 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, vol. i, p. 116.

20 The battle of Ghazdawān took place in the first part of Ramazān, 918, i.e. between 3rd and 15th, *Habīb-us-Siyar*, Bombay text, Bk. iii, Ch. iv, pp. 68-69.

21 *Tārikh-i-Akbari*, Rāmpur State Library MS. (Sir Jadunāth Sarkār's Transcript), p. 83; *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. Trans. vol. ii, p. 148; *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadi*, fol. 179b.

22 *Ma'āsir-i-Rahimi*, vol. i, p. 669.

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A.H., the former is more probable, because both from the *'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī* as well as Khāfī Khān it appears that Bairām was already in the service of Bābur before the battle of Ghazdawān and, if Khāfī Khān is to be believed, he fought in that battle. If Bairām was born in 907 A.H., his age would be eleven in 918 A.H. It is not very much probable, though it is not impossible, that a boy of eleven fought in the battle. That Bairām was born in 902 A.H. does not contradict the fact that his father, Saif 'Alī Beg was a boy in 885 A.H when he came to Badakhshān along with Bairām's grandfather as we are told by 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī. From the Maāsir-i-Rahīmī it appears that Bairām was born at Badakhshān while his grandfather, Yār 'Alī Beg, was with Sultān Mahmūd[23]. From the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī* as well it appears that Bairām was born during the life-time of Sultān Mahmūd, for we are told that Saif 'Alī Beg, his father, entered the service of Khusrau Shāh with his son, Bairām Beg[24]. Saif 'Alī Beg joined Khusrau Shāh along with his father, Yār 'Alī Beg, it appears, immediately after the death of Sultān Mahmūd when Khusrau Shāh rose to power. Sultān Mahmūd died in Rabi-us-sānī, 900/January, 1495[25], and so Bairām was born before that date. We cannot be certain about the exact year of his birth, though we can suggest that this earlier date is quite probable. We may therefore conclude that Bairām Khān was in all probability born about 902 A.H./1497 A.D. and that he might have been born even a few years earlier[26].

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23 *Ma'sir-i-Rahimi*, vol. i, pp. 22, 63. From vol. ii, p. 9, it seems that Bairām was born after the death of Yār 'Alī which is incorrect for 'Abdul-Bāqī himself says that Yār 'Alī took proper care for his upkeep and education.

24 *Ma'dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī*, fol. 170b.

25 *Bābur-nāma*, Eng. Trans. by A. S. Beveridge, vol. i, p. 45.

26 The *Darbār-i-Akbari* by Muhammad Husain Āzād, which contains, according to H. Beveridge, the best biography of Bairām Khān, gives the ancestry of Bairām at p. 158, based on Firishta and the *Haft-Iqlīm*, but does not discuss the date of his birth, nor does it refer to his age. Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, writing in 1902, rightly observes that Bairām was at the time of his marriage with Salima Sultān Begum in Safar, 965 A.H./December, 1557 A.D., 'a man of, at least, middle-age at five', *Humāyūn-nāma* of Gulbadan Begam, p. 279.

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The Historical Interpretation of the Nadi-Stuti Hymn in the Ṛgveda

In this paper I propose to discuss the historical significance of the Nadi-stuti (Praise of Rivers) hymn found in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 75). The hymn contains, as its very name suggests, the praise of rivers, specially of the Indus. Its Ṛṣi is Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit and its Devatā Nadī (Rivers). I am giving below the relevant stanzas from the hymn containing the names of the rivers praised:

इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।
असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥
तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या ।
त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथयाभिरीयसे ॥
ऋजीत्येनी रुशती महित्वा परिज्मयांसि भरते रजांसि ।
अदब्धा सिन्धुरपसापपस्तमाश्वान चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता ॥
स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकृता वाजिनीवती ।
ऊर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधिवस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम् ॥

The stanzas are translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith as follows:

"Favour ye this my laud, O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Sutudrī with Paruṣṇī.

With Asiknī, Vitastā, O Marudvṛdhā, O Arjikīyā with Suṣomā hear my call.

First with Triṣṭāmā thou art eager to flow forth, with Rasā and Susartu and with Śvetyā here,

With Kubhā; and with these, Sindhu ! and Mehatnu, thou seekest in thy course Krumu and Gomatī.

Flashing and whitely-gleaming in her mightiness, she moves along her ample volumes through the realms, most active of the active, Sindhu unrestrained, like to a dappled mare, beautiful, fair to see.

Rich in good steeds is Sindhu, rich in cars and robes, rich in gold nobly fashioned, rich in vigorous mares. Blest Silamāvatī and young Urṇāvati increst themselves with raiment rich in store of sweets."

The list of the names of the rivers mentioned in the above stanzas can be prepared as below:

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(1) Gaṅgā (well-known)
(2) Yamunā (well-known)
(3) Sarasvatī (Sarsuti in E. Punjab)
(4) Śutudri (Sutlej)
(5) Asikni (Chenab)
(6) Paruṣṇī (Ravi)
(7) Vitastā (Jhelum)
(8) Marudvṛdhā (the joint stream of Nos. 5 and 7)
(9) Arjikiyā (Upper Indus)
(10) Suṣomā (Suwan)
(11) Tṛṣṭama (uncertain)
(12) Susartu, (13) Rasā, (14) Svetyā } tributaries of the Indus
(15) Sindhu (Indus)
(16) Kubhā (Kabul)
(17) Gomatī (Gomal)
(18) Krumu (Kurrum)
(19) Mehatnu (uncertain)[1]

Generally the orientalists have drawn conclusions from the mention of these rivers that when the *Ṛgveda* was composed, the Aryans were acquainted with the land in northern India bounded by the Gaṅgā in the east and by the Kubhā (Kabul) in the west; and because the Yamunā and Gaṅgā are very seldom mentioned (the Gaṅgā is mentioned only once), it can be inferred that the Aryans were living to the west of the Sarasvatī and they had simply heard of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā.[2] Those, who believe that the Aryans were foreigners and entered India through the N.W. passes, are of the opinion that the list of the rivers indicate the order of Aryan expansion in India from the west to the east. Those, who regard Sapta-Saindhava (the Land of Seven Rivers = Punjab, Kashmira and N. W. Frontier) as the original home of the Aryans, maintain that the names of the rivers given above, and mentioned elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda*, show that the Aryans were the native of the territories stretching from the Sarasvatī in the east and the Kubhā (Kabul) in the west and that they were trying to expand towards the east beyond the Sarasvatī.

The conclusions referred to above suffer from one very grave inherent defect in that they do not pay any attention to the order in which the rivers are mentioned. The order of the rivers given in the Sūkta is from the east to the west; the Gaṅgā, the easternmost river is mentioned first and the Kubhā (Kabul), the Gomatī (Gomal) and the Krumu (Kurrum), the most westerly rivers are mentioned last. If the order

1 Silāmāvatī and Urṇāvatī appear to be names of rivers to Griffith. But in the opinion of Sāyaṇa the words are epithets of Sindhu and mean 'abounding in Silamā plants' and 'rich in wool' respectively.

2 Macdonell: *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 143, 145.

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of the rivers has any correspondence with the expansion of a people, who were familiar with them, the natural and easy inference would be that the people expanded from the east to the west. It is but natural that when certain things are enumerated, the counting starts with the nearest and the most familiar and ends with the most distant and the least known. From the order of the rivers given in this Sūkta it is evident that the Ṛṣi (the singer or composer) of the hymn was though standing on the banks of the Indus, his most familiar and nearest his home were the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā; that is why he begins his enumeration of the rivers with the Gaṅgā. If the Aryans were foreigners and entered India through the N.W. passes or if they were native of Sapta-saindhava, it is really very strange that they do not start their counting with the Kubhā (Kabul) or with the Paruṣṇī (Ravi) and their memory should travel far to the Gaṅgā in the east. Obviously, the conclusions drawn by such orientalists as Macdonell, Keith[3] etc. are prejudiced and misleading.

For the correct interpretation of the Nadi-sūkta two things are indispensable—(1) one has to free his mind from the preconceived notion that the Aryans in India were foreigners or they originally belonged to Sapta-Saindhava and (2) one has to follow the Indian method of Vedic interpretation, natural to the land where the Vedic hymns were composed. Really speaking the *Ṛgveda* in which the Nadi-sūkta is found, is not a historical work; it is poetic, theological and philosophical, and whatever historical materials are contained therein are meagre and incidental. The key to the interpretation of the Vedic historical materials is neither in philology nor in the Veda itself; it is embedded in another stream of Indian literature, *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*. According to the Indian method the Veda should be studied with the help of *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*:

यो विद्याच्चतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
न चेत्पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद्विचक्षणः ॥
इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

Padmapurāṇa, v. 2, 50. 2.

3 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, Chap. III.

4 XII. 12. 6.

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[A Brāhmaṇa, who may know all the four Vedas with (its six) Aṅgas and the Upaniṣads but if he does not know the Purāṇa, should not be regarded as efficient. One should study the Veda with the help of Itihāsa and Purāṇa. The Veda fears one deficient in tradition, thinking he will do me harm (=will distort my sense)].

Let us now see what light is thrown on the Nadi-stuti hymn in the *Ṛgveda* by *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*. As already pointed out the Ṛṣi of the Sūkta is Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit. The Veda does not throw any light on him except on his mere name. It has been said in the Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa that Sindhukṣit was a Rājanyarṣi (a royal sage) who was exiled long from his kingdom, but he was ultimately restored. Beyond this the Brāhmaṇa does not supply any information regarding the place and the time of Sindhukṣit in Indian history. It is in the *Bhāgavat-Purāṇa* that we come across the statement that the "twice-born Priyamedha and others were the descendants of Ajāmīḍha the Bharatavaṁśī king of Pāñcāla (Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab):

अजामीढस्य वंश्याः स्युः प्रियमेधादयो द्विजाः । ix. 21. 21.

So, according to the Purāṇic tradition Praiyamedha was a descendant of Priyamedha, originally a Pāñcāla (inhabitant of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab). We find several instances of royal princes or Kṣatriya communities being exiled from their original places and colonizing and occupying new territories. There is nothing strange, if Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit starting from Pāñcāla and crossing the rivers of the western Uttara-Pradesha and the Punjab arrived on the banks of the Indus and became acquainted with its western tributaries. From his description of the prosperity, the horses, the cars, the corns and the scenes of wars on the banks of the Indus, it appears that Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit was standing there as a conqueror:[5]

सुखं रथं युयुजे सिन्धुरश्विनं तेन वाजं सनिसदस्मिन्नाजौ ।
महान्ह्यस्य महिमा पनस्यतेऽदब्धस्य स्वयशसो विरप्शिनः ॥

—*Ṛgveda*, X. 75. 9

Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit was highly impressed by the expanse, the prosperity and the power of the Sindhu (Indus), but when he started his prayer to the rivers he began with his most sacred and the most

5 Griffith in his foot-note on the translation of the stanza No. 9 refers to the opinion of Ludwig that the hymn may be a prayer for aid in a battle that was to be fought on the banks of the Sindhu.

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familiar river the Gaṅgā. In its context the Nadi-stuti hymn was a short history of the westward march of Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit and his followers from the banks of the Gaṅgā to the banks of the Sindhu.

In the same order, in which Praiyamedha Sindhukṣit became familiar with the rivers of the western Uttara Pradeśa, the Punjab and the N. W. Frontiers, the Aryan tribes and ruling families of Mid-India (Madhyadeśa), which were native to the land, marched from the banks of the Saryū, the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā towards the west up to the Kubhā (Kabul river) and beyond and became acquainted with the rivers mentioned in the Nadi-stuti hymn and elsewhere in the *Ṛgveda*. A systematic history of this westward expansion of the Aryans is recorded in the Purāṇas.[6] A question may be asked: When the Aryans were the original inhabitants of Mid-India (Madhya-deśa) and from there expanded all over India, why does the *Ṛgveda* mention only the names of the rivers of the Punjab and the N. W. Frontiers frequently and those of the western U. P. sparingly; and why does it not mention the rivers and mountains of the other parts of India? The answer to this question is very simple: The *Ṛgveda* was composed by those branches of the Aryans which started westward march from the banks of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, occupied the N. W. parts of India and had the centre of their colonies and culture on the banks of the Sarasvatī river in the Punjab. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that the *Ṛgveda* mentions the rivers of these parts of India. It is really very strange that some orientalists should draw the conclusion from the Nadi-stuti hymn that the order of the rivers given in it suggests the Aryan invasion of India from the N. W. and their expansion in this country. The straight conclusion ought to have been just the reverse. If there can be any historical significance of this hymn in the light of time-honoured Indian tradition, it is that some branches of the Aryans started westward from the banks of the Gaṅgā and the Yamuna and spread upto the Kubha (Kabul) river in the N. W.

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6 See the paper contributed by the writer entitled "Purāṇic Data on the Original Home of the Indo-Aryans" published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXIV, No. 2, June, 1948.

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The Sātavāhana Dynasty of Dakṣiṇāpatha

One of the greatest dynasties that ever ruled over Deccan was the Sātavāhana which is called the Andhra in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas have preserved two traditions regarding the number of its kings and the total duration of their reigns. Thus the *Matsya Purāṇa*, though mentioning 30 names, says that the Andhra dynasty consisted of only 19 kings. On the other hand the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, which state that the Andhra dynasty consisted of 30 kings, give only about 19 names. Similarly, whereas according to one tradition preserved in the Purāṇas the Andhra kings ruled for 460 years, according to another found in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇas* they ruled only for 300 years. It is clear that the only satisfactory explanation of these irreconcilable statements is the one suggested by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Raychaudhury. According to these scholars, the statement of the *Matsya Purāṇa* that the Andhra dynasty consisted of only 19 kings refers to the main line, while the list of 30 kings mentions the princes of some branch line as well as those of the main line. Similarly the period of 300 years assigned by one Purāṇic tradition to Andhra kings refers to the main line, while the longer period of 460 years is the total of the reigns of the kings of both the main and the branch lines.

The question naturally arises which of the nineteen kings belonged to the main line. If we make a comparative study of the Purāṇas with the help of inscriptions and coins, it is not difficult to see which of the nineteen kings belonged to the main line. The list of Andhra kings mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* may be divided into three groups viz. (1) the first three kings Simuka, Kṛṣṇa and Śātakarṇi (2) the next ten or eleven kings from Pūrṇotsaṅga to Svātivarṇa who is said to have ruled only for a year, and (3) the next sixteen kings from Paṭumāvi or Pulomāvi I (whose name though omitted in some Matsya manuscripts is found in all the other Purāṇas) to Pulomāvi III ,who ruled for 7 years. The names of the kings of the first group are mentioned in all the Purāṇas and are corroborated by inscriptions, so that there is no doubt that they belonged to the main line. The names of kings of the second group do not find any place in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, except that a verse mentioning two princes of this group has crept in them. The princes of this group are also

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unknown to the inscriptions and coins of the main line of Sātavāhana kings. They thus could not have been kings of the main Sātavāhana line. The kings of the third group are mentioned in all the Purāṇas except that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* have left out three names. Many of the kings of this group are also known from inscriptions and coins. Thus there is no doubt that they belonged to the main line. The total number of the kings of the first and third group is exactly nineteen. So there is no doubt that these nineteen kings belonged to the main line.

Next we come to the reign-periods of these nineteen kings. Fortunately there is no divergence regarding the reign-periods of most of these kings in the Purāṇas. We may, therefore, consider the reign-periods of only those kings about whom there are differences or discrepancies. Thus the second king Kṛṣṇa is assigned 10 years by the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* and 18 years by the *Matsya*. In this case the reading of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* seems preferable. Regarding the third king (Śātakarṇi or Mallakarṇi) the *Matsya* says as follows:—

Śrī Mallakarṇir bhavitā tasya putras tu vai daśa. The reading of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* is as follows:—

Śrī Śātakarṇir bhavitā tasya putras tu vai mahān.

It is clear that the word 'mahān' found in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* is a corrupt reading for 'daśa', so that Śātakarṇi may be regarded to have ruled for 10 years according to the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas. A similar mistake is found regarding the reign-period of the sixth king Hāla in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* which have corrupted the reading *saṁvatsarān pañca* (i.e. five years) found in the *Matsya* to *saṁvatsaram pūrṇam*. The twelfth king Gautamīputra is usually assigned 21 years, but the correct reading seems to be 31 years, as the Nasik cave inscription mentions him as having made a gift in the 24th year of his reign. The corrupt word 'hyātmajaḥ' found for the reign period of the fifteenth king Śivaskandha seems to have originally been 'viṁśatiḥ', so that his reign period may be regarded as 20 years. The sixteenth king Yajñaśrī reigned for 29 years according to *Matsya* and 19 years according to *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. Here the *Matsya* figure is clearly preferable, for one of the inscriptions of Yajñaśrī is dated in the 27th year of his reign. The eighteenth king Caṇḍaśrī is assigned 10 years by *Matsya* and 3 years by *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. Here also we prefer the figure given in the *Matsya*.

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When we add up these figures the total comes to 290½ years, which may well be called 300 years in round numbers. The following table makes it clear.

Simuka	23 years
Kṛṣṇa	10 years
Śātakarṇi	10 years
Pulomāvi I	24 years
Nemikṛṣṇa	25 years
Hāla	5 years
Maṇḍalaka	5 years
Purindrasena	21 years
Sundara	1 year
Cakora	½ year
Śivasvāti	28 years
Gautamīputra	31 years
Pulomāvi II	28 years
Śivaśrī	7 years
Śivaskandha	20 years
Yajñaśrī	29 years
Vijaya	6 years
Caṇḍaśrī	10 years
Pulomāvi III	7 years
Total	290½ years

The problem that we have to tackle next is the chronology of these kings. Since the first king Simuka is unanimously regarded by the Purāṇas as the destroyer of the Kāṇva dynasty of Magadha which ended in 27 B.C., it is certain that the Sātavāhana dynasty was founded somewhere in the third quarter of the first century B.C. But so far it has not been possible to determine the exact year when Simuka began to rule. It is clear that if we can ascertain the exact date of the reign of even one king, the whole Sātavāhana chronology can be fixed.

It is a well known fact that the era which is usually called Śaka era also bears the name Śalivāhana era. The word Śalivāhana is a variant of Sātavāhana, and unless this era was in some way connected with one of the kings of this dynasty, this name could not have been given to it. Now the greatest king of this dynasty was Gautamīputra,

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but the foundation of his greatness was laid by his father Śivasvāti. The period preceding Śivasvāti was one when the prestige of the Sātavāhana dynasty had sunk very low. The disturbed state of the Sātavāhana kingdom can be judged from the fact the two immediate predecessors of Śivasvāti ruled only for 1 year and 6 months respectively. Śivasvāti who thus restored order in a troubled kingdom and ruled for 28 years must have won the love and respect of his subjects. Our view is that the people started the Śālivāhana era from the commencement of his reign, and though it was not used by Sātavāhana kings, it travelled outside the Sātavāhana kingdom and was adopted by the Śaka satraps of Mahārāṣṭra and Ujjain, whence it also got the name of Śaka era. If we regard Śivasvāti's reign as having begun in 78 A.D., the initial year of the Śālivāhana era, the chronology of the Sātavāhana kings would be as follows:

Simuka	46-23 B.C.
Kṛṣṇa	23-13 B.C.
Śātakarṇi	13-3 B.C.
Pulomāvi I	3 B.C.-21 A.D.
Nemikṛṣṇa	21-46 A.D.
Hāla	46-51 A.D.
Maṇḍalaka	51-56 A.D.
Purindrasena	56-77 A.D.
Sundara	77-78 A.D.
Cakora	78 A.D.
Śivasvāti	78-106 A.D.
Gautamīputra	106-137 A.D.
Pulomāvi II	137-165 A.D.
Śivaśrī	165-172 A.D.
Śivaskandha	172-192 A.D.
Yajñaśrī	192-221 A.D.
Vijaya	221-227 A.D.
Caṇḍaśrī	227-237 A.D.
Pulomāvi III	237-244 A.D.

This chronology is fully borne out by independent evidence wherever it is available. Simuka is said to have destroyed the Kāṇva dynasty which came to an end in 27 B.C., a date which falls within the reign of Śimuka according to this chronology. The third king Śātakarṇi is said to have been a contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga

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who is now believed by most scholars to have lived at the end of the first century B.C. The date of Śātakarṇi arrived at by us fits in with this fact. Next we come to Gautamīputra who reigned from 106-137 A.D. according to our chronology. This date is fully supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus the last recorded date of Nahapāna, the Kṣaharāta satrap of Mahārāṣṭra, is the Śālivāhana year 46 = 124 A.D. Gautamīputra who destroyed the Kṣaharāta dynasty must have done so neither before nor much later than this date. We may thus regard the year 124 A.D. as the date of the destruction of Kṣaharāta power by Gautamīputra. Now from the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamīputra we gather that his conquest of Mahārāṣṭra from the Kṣaharātas took place in the 18th year of his reign. Therefore his reign began in 124-18 = 106 A.D., a date which agrees exactly with our date. The next king Pulomāvi II is regarded by scholars as a contemporary of Rudradāman, the Śaka satrap of Ujjain. The latter's inscription at Junāgadh is dated 150 A.D. and this date falls within the reign period of Pulomāvi II (137-165 A.D.). Thus this chronology is in perfect accord with all the facts of which we are aware.

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The Dānasāgara and the Dānaratnākara[1]

The present writer has disscussed the indebtedness of the *Kṛtyaratnākara*[2], a published work of Caṇḍeśvara, to the *Dānasāgara* of Ballāla Sena and also discovered the existence of the *Vratasāgara*, a hitherto-unknown fifth work of Ballāla Sena, from two references in the *Dānasāgara* in his paper, viz. 'Caṇḍeśvara's indebtedness to Ballāla Sena'[3]. The present study is a continuation of the above paper.

Only one-fifth of the *Dānasāgara* has been published[4] while the *Dānaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara is yet unpublished, so the present paper is based upon two Mss[5]. of the former and one Ms[6]. of the latter. It is, however, evident that though the Sanskrit words *sāgara* and *ratnākara* are synonymous, meaning 'sea', yet the Sanskrit works *Dānasāgara* and *Dānaratnākara* are not the same, produced as they were by different authors who flourished in different parts of India and were separated by about two centuries. The former is the production of Ballāla Sena, a Bengal king of the latter half of the twelfth century and the latter is the composition of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura, a Maithila minister of the first half of the fourteenth century.

Dr. P. V. Kane has utilised the extracts of the *Dānasāgara* from the India Office Catalogue and the Poona Ms. of the *Dānaratnākara* in appropriate places[7] of his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I[8], which also mentions the fact that 'the work (i.e. the *Dānasāgara*) is referred to in the *Dānaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara[9]. The same author has not,

1 This paper was read at the 15th session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, November, 1949.

2 Edited by Mm. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1925.

3 *Indian Culture*, vol. XI, 1945, pp. 141-144.

4 Edited by Śyāmācaraṇa Kaviratna, Calcutta, 1914-1919, pp. 1-16, pp. 1-316, up to *pañcalāṅgalakamahādāna*.

5 No. I. A. 73 of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Nos. 719-720/1704-5 of the India Office, London. The two London Mss. constitute two parts of the *Dānasāgara*.

6 No. 114 of 1884-86, Deccan College Collection, now deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

7 The *Dānasāgara* extracts have been utilised in the topic no. 83 on Ballāla, pp. 340-341. The third introductory verse and the last verse of the *Dānaratnākara* have been quoted on p. 366 in the topic no. 90 on Caṇḍeśvara.

8 Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930.

9 Vide pp. 340-41.

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however, utilised the *Dānasāgara* in his elaborate chapter on *dāna* (pp. 837-888) in vol. II[10] of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* but simply mentioned it as one of the 'digests specially devoted to the topic of *dāna*' on p. 841 of the same. He has also not used the *Dānaratnākara* in his above-mentioned chapter on *dāna* but consulted the Poona Ms.[11] of the same in an earlier chapter of his second volume (on p. 131 footnote 290) for a quotation from Devala about eight kinds of Brāhmaṇas in order of superiority viz. mātra, brāhmaṇa, śrotriya, anūcāna, bhruṇa, ṛṣikalpa, ṛṣi and muni. Dr. Kane has, moreover, utilised in his first volume part of the second[12] verse and the fourth[13] verse in full at the end of the *Dānaratnākara*, not from the Poona Ms. of the same but evidently from Mitra's Notices, vol. VI, p. 135, as none of them is found in the Poona MS. and as he gives the above reference in connection with the latter verse, although he adds nothing in connexion with the former. The same author is completely silent about Ballāla Sena and the *Dānasāgara* in his Marathi work *Dharmaśāstravicāra*,[14] but has allotted some four lines to Caṇḍeśvara, including a quotation[15] from the *Dānaratnākara*, on p. 3 of the same.

We now enumerate below the subjects dealt with by the *Dānasāgara*, which is divided into 75 *āvartas*: —

Eulogy of Brāhmaṇas, eulogy of the merit arising from gifts, proper objects of gifts, exceptions, the nature of gift, the donor, faith as to the utility of gifts, proper times and places for gifts, things proper to be donated, what cannot be given away, bad donations, religious rites and procedure followed in making gifts and in accepting them, the technical terms of the subject of gifts, the sixteen *mahādānas* such as that of *tulāpuruṣa* and other things, ten kinds of gifts called *parvata-dānas*, viz. of heaps of corn, salt, sesame etc., gifts of thirty-nine kinds called *dhenus* such as of ghee, jaggery etc., lesser *dānas* of

10 Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

11 No. 114 of 1884-86, Deccan College Collection.

12 मग्ना म्लेच्छ्रमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लोलया

13 यस्य·दानातिरेकेण लोके निर्जितगौरवः ।
कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥

14 Published by the Mauj Printing Bureau, Bombay, 1936.

15 The same as that quoted in note 12 above.

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various kinds (the author himself says in verse 54 at the end of his introductory list of *dānas* that he has described 1375 kinds of gifts), the names of various purāṇas and their extent.

The *Dānaratnākara*, which contains 29 *taraṅgas*, deals with the following subjects: —

The procedure followed in making gifts, meaning of *dāna*, what may or may not be given, fit objects of charity, the sixteen kinds of gifts called *mahādānas*, gifts of a thousand cows and of heaps of corn etc., the latter constituting the ten *parvata-dānas*, gifts of ten kinds of *dhenus* such as jaggery, ghee etc., gifts of cows, oxen, golden effigies of cows, gifts of land, gold and antelope skin, various gifts, such as those of food, books etc., gifts appropriate to certain months, seasons, *tithis* and *nakṣatras*, founding of hospitals and offering safety to intimidated persons, settling Brāhmaṇas in houses, miscellaneous gifts, dedication of wells and tanks for public use, planting of trees, offering shelter and presiding deities of various articles of gift.

It will thus be seen that both Ballāla Sena and Caṇḍeśvara traverse over the same ground in their respective treatises on *dāna* and that unlike Govindānanda[16], a sixteenth century digest-writer of Bengal, Caṇḍeśvara does not dispense with the description of the sixteen *mahādānas* such as the gift of *tulāpuruṣa*, and of the ten *parvata-dānas* such as the giving away of heaps of corn, as being impossible for ordinary persons.

BHABATOSH BHTTACHARYA

16 Vide p. 86 of his *Dānakriyākaumudī*, edited by Mm. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1903, which contains the following paragraph: —

तुलापुरुषादि-षोडशमहादानानि धान्याचलादि-दशविधाचलदानानि मत्स्यपुराणोक्तानि महाराजे तरासाध्यान्यल्पीपेक्षितानि महादानपद्धतौ द्रष्टव्यानि अन्यानि च दानानि यथायथमाकरेषुद्धानि ।

It is rather strange that though Raghunandana, the great Bengali digest-writer of the sixteenth century, who was only a generation later than Govindānanda, did not write a separate treatise on *dāna* but utilised the *Dānasāgara*, as is evident from his several quotations from it in his several works, yet his Bengali predecessor, Govindānanda, who actually wrote a digest on *dāna*, viz. *Dānakriyākaumudī* and hinted at the existence of earlier treatises on the same topic, as is apparent from the above extract, never mentions Ballāla Sena or the *Dānasāgara* in his own treatise. For Raghunandana's indebtedness to the *Dānasāgara*, vide the present writer's paper, viz. 'Ballāla Sena's influence upon Bengal Smṛti,' in the *Gode Commemoration Volume*, Poona.

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Buddhism in Kāmarūpa

In Kāmarūpa, a land *par excellence* of Hinduism, religion had had in both early and mediaeval ages almost a uniform history, seldom perturbed by diversity. Our curiosity is by far intensified by its geographical position; it just borders to the west upon Bengal, where various religious systems played more or less a conspicuous part of its own in its early history. When in or about 637 A.D. Hiuen Tsang came to visit Bengal he found there all the three prominent religions of the day, *viz.* Brāhmanism, Buddhism and Jainism, flourishing side by side. But the same pilgrim noticed no trace of Jainism and very little of Buddhism in Kia mo-lu po. And even when from the middle of the eighth century right up to the twelfth, Buddhism was prospering in Bengal under the auspices of the great Pāla monarchs, producing a vast body of literature, a rich store of sculptures and a galaxy of notable Buddhist teachers and other celebrities, Buddhism still retained the meagreness of its history in Kāmarūpa.

It is characteristic of the Faith that it could not often gain ground upon any soil without royal ægis and royal patronage. Very often does the history of India bear witness to this characteristic of the religion which thrives or gets debilitated according to the amount of favour and security it derives or not from a king or a line of kings. And since the early kings of Kāmarūpa, all Brāhmaṇical Hindus, did not shore up the religion with their patronage, Kāmarūpa, although at the eastern fringe of Bengal, successfully demonstrated itself as a land where Buddhism failed to make any readable history of it.

Even in the earnestness and persistence with which Bhāskaravarman, the ally of Harṣavardhana, sought an interview with Hiuen Tsang in his own kingdom, and his subsequent reluctance to part with him, there was the gesture, engendered by a genuine feeling, of personal respect for the foreign pilgrim, rather than any pro-Buddhistic sentiment on the part of Bhāskaravarman. Hiuen Tsang is frank enough to say that the people of Kāmarūpa adored and sacrificed to the Devas and had no faith in the Buddha, and if there were a few Buddhists in the country, they had to say their prayers or perform their devotional rites in secret, evidently in fear of persecution. This could not possibly have been the case if Bhāskaravarman would champion the cause of Buddhism, or, in

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any way, countenance it in his dominion, by deviating from the ancestral path of religious orthodoxy, and it is idle to find, we must agree, in the adoration to Dharma in the invocatory portion of his Nidhānpur grant, just following the salutation to his tutelary deity, Śiva, a reference to the Law of the Buddha. Dharma described therein as "the sole friend of creation, the cause of prosperity in this and the next world, whose form is the good of others and which is unseen but whose existence is inferred from the results" is anything but a Buddhist deity. In the later Buddhist conception Dharma was supposed to belong to the female sex and the goddess Dharma in the Buddhist trinity came to represent Ārya Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, the mother of all Buddhas, and the like, and even when Dharma was sometimes regarded as a male symbolising the primordial energy, his conception is not such as to conform to the description of Dharma as is in the Nidhānpur grant.

Hiuen Tsang further states that from the time when the Buddha appeared in the world even down to his time there never was built one *Saṁghārāma* as a place for the priests to assemble. And what was true of a *Saṁghārāma* or *Vihāra* in Kāmarūpa till the days of Bhāskaravarman was also true of the same in all succeeding times. Neither during the rule of the Sālastambha dynasty nor during that of the Pālas of Kāmarūpa from Brahmapāla to Jayapāla, do we come across any evidence as to any established seat of Buddhistic learning and culture anywhere in Kāmarūpa. As regards Buddhist sculptures, too, we have, so far as is known, none from Kāmarūpa except the few, of probably the tenth-eleventh century, unearthed by the Gauhati excavations. One of them, in a thin stone slab, represents the Buddha in the *Abhaya mudrā*, and another, a terracotta plaque, delineates the same in the *Bhūmisparśa mudrā*, in which the Buddha, seated, touches with his finger the earth, indicating thereby that he asks the Earth goddess to bear witness to his attainment of *Sambodhi* against all Māra's temptations. The third sculpture, in stone, probably depicts a minor goddess of the Vajrayāna pantheon, Mahāpratisarā, seated, and with four faces, eight arms and a *caitya* symbol overhead.

Of Buddhist celebrities of the province, neither epigraphical nor authentic literary source affords us any definite information. The *Tanjur*, nevertheless, contains the Tibetan translation of a tract, entitled *Dhyāna-saḍ-dharma-vyavasthāna* by one Avadhūtipāda, who is, as we are told, probably identical with Ratnaśīla of Kāmarūpa. If the identification

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be tenable, we have herein perhaps the name of one Buddhist (rather than Śaivite) scholar who can with a degree of precision be attributed to Kāmarūpa. But in this case also, beyond his name we know nothing about his personal history, though we can only assume that he belonged to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. Nowhere else, in the *Tanjur* the name of Kāmarūpa is known to occur to have been the native land of any other scholar, either as an author, or as a commentator, or as a translator.

In the first inscription of King Indrapāla from Gauhati, there is the mention of a *śāsana* or charter connected with the name of Tathāgata. This is, however, the name borne by a private individual who built a temple, and does not refer to the Buddha, as the late lamented Rai Bahadur Kanak Lal Barua conjectured.[1] That even the person with this Buddhistic name was not himself a Buddhist is vouched for by the fact that the temple he got constructed was dedicated not to any Buddhist divinity but to the holy Āditya or the Sun-god (*uttareṇa Tathāgata-kārit-Ādityabhaṭṭāraka satka-śāsana-bhaviṣā-bhūsīmni.....*).[2] We have no reason, therefore, to see in this charter any trace of Buddhism or any Buddhist influence.

Late Tibetan tradition as embodied in the *Grub t'ob* and the *Bka'gbabs bdun ldan* makes Mīnanātha a fisherman from Kāmarūpa. The name *Mīnanātha* is sometimes synonymous with *Matsyendranātha*, or, in some lists, one is said to be the son of the other.[3] Professor Giuseppe Tucci tries to show that *Matsyendra* or its synonym is but a title or an appellative of some *siddhas* or those mystics who attempted to harmonise Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hinduism, and that the title was first given to Lui-pā,[4] who, as we know, was a native of Rāḍha or West Bengal. If we accept Prof. Tucci's theory, all that can be said of the above tradition, without questioning its truth, is that one *siddha* bearing the title or appellative of Mīna, but other than Lui-pā, was a fisherman from Kāmarūpa. In case we do not, the genuineness of the tradition recorded by the two books has to be questioned in view of that Mīnapāda, *alias* Vajrapāda, *alias* Acintya, is claimed by other traditions

1 *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 152.
2 *Kāmarūpa-Śāsanāvali*, pp. 124 and 129.
3 Cf., for instance, Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain*, II, p. 237.
4 *JASB.*, 1930, pp. 133-134.

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to be of Bengal. Again, in the *Grub t'ob,* Rāhula, another Buddhist scholar, was a Śūdra from Kāmarūpa, but there also, as pointed out by Prof. Tucci, Rāhulabhaōra is the name of Saraha, and, on the other hand, in the *bKa'babs bdun ldan,* Rāhulabhadra is a Brahmin of Oḍivisa,[5] while according to the *Pag Sam Jon Zang,* Saraha Chūṅ or Śavarīpā was a huntsman in the hills of Baṅgāla.[6] Nothing, therefore, ensures us that the *Grub t'ob* records a correct story about the home'and of Rāhula. As regards Mahīdhara and Dārika, the two other scholars claimed to be Kāmarūpa, the grounds are far more uncertain.

Nalini Nath Das Gupta

5 *Ibid.*, p. 141.
6 P. cxxi.

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REVIEWS

THERAVĀDA BUDDHISM IN BURMA by Prof. Niharranjan Roy, Ca'cutta University, 306 pp.

The attention of Indian scholars has hitherto been confined to the unfolding of the political, economic, social or cultural history of India and a very few of us have taken deep interest in the cultural history of a foreign country The present work, which is a politico-religious history of Burma from the earliest times up to the 19th century, therefore deserves special commendation. The period taken up by the author is no doubt ambitious but it must be admitted that he has done justice to the subject by judiciously marshal'ing a mass of varied materials, such as traditions, inscriptions, images, sculptures, and the late Pali and Burmese texts.

The author has divided his work into seven chapters arranged thus: chapter I: early traces of Buddhism in the different parts of the country; chapter II: efflorescence of Buddhism in Pagan; chapter III: reformation of the religion in the 14th and 15th centuries; chapter IV: the set back suffered by the movement in the 16th and 17th centuries. chapter V: the well known Ekāṃsika-Pārupana controversy; chapter VI: establishment of the Amarapura school for the revival of the orthodox form of Buddhism in Ceylon. The last chapter (VII) by far the best of the chapters contains the author's survey of the vicissitudes of the religious movement in Burma and of the effect of the religion on the cultural life of the people of Burma.

It is not possible nor it is the proper place to discuss the author's views regarding the identification of Suvarṇabhūmi of the Mahāvaṃsa tradition, the Burmese tradition about Buddhaghosa, the importance of the extracts from the Nikāyas found in inscriptions, and the artistic value of the images and sculptures discovered so far within Burma. We however fully endorse the author's viewpoint that 'insistent traditions should not be dismissed light'y on the basis of negative evidences or similar other traditions. The most interesting point developed by the author is that Burma received her Buddhism not from Ceylon but directly from South India, particularly from the Andhra-Pa'lava Kuntala region. The great importance of this region in the history of Buddhism has been brought out by the finds of the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunkoṇḍa inscrip-

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tions, monuments and sculptures. From inscriptions as also from the Sinhalese traditions we know this was the centre of the Andhaka sects comprising the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Śailas, the Caityakas and the Vetulyakas. These sects, though fundamentally Hinayānic, can be regarded as the forerunners of Mahāyāna. The term Ariyasaṃgha (see p. 166) reminds us of the term *'ayirahaghāna'* in the Nāgārjunkoṇḍa inscriptions. Kāñci was undoubtedly the seat of the Neo-theravādins, of whom Buddhaghosa was the latest exponent. The inscriptions in which occur the words 'deyadharmo'yaṃ' 'fulfilment of ten perfections,' 'transference of merit' and 'invocation of Maitreya Bodhisattva' and so forth prove that Burma was not immune from Mahāyānic influence. The author has in his mind the influence of the Sarvāstivādins but not that of the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots. In old Prome not only South Indian Buddhism was prevalent but also the rulers, whose names ended with the words 'Varman' and 'Vikrama' are strongly reminiscent, as pointed out by the author, of the political influence of South India.

The author has rightly eulogised the achievements of King Anawrahta whose services to the cause of Buddhism bear comparison with those of the Emperor Aśoka and king Duṭṭhagāmanī of Ceylon. King Anawrahta has to his credit like Aśoka and Duṭṭhagāmanī both political and religious conquest of the land, and strangely enough king Anawrahta was as unfortunate in his successor as was Aśoka.

Pegu and Thaton were Indianised at an early date as is evidenced by the tradition of king Tissa. Thaton was no doubt a treasure store of ancient Buddhist texts. It seems that in Thaton there were sects other than Theravāda *viz.*, Paramattha and Samuti (see p. 81) who were very probably the Mahāyānists and the Sāṃmitiya (Vātsiputrīyas). The reference to Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇical gods, and to Aris or Samaṇakuṭṭakas indicate that Burma had direct contact not only with South India but also with the eastern parts of India particularly Bengal and Assam.

The author has made an analytical study of the Pāli works *Gandhavaṃsa* and *Sāsanavaṃsa* and pointed out that the Burmese though traditionally fond of *Abhidhamma* took more interest in the composition of Pāli Grammars. This is partly due to the fact that the Burmese monks experienced difficulty in learning correctly the Pāli language and so they gave greater attention to the grammar of their sacred language. He has

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presented us with a lucid account of the reformation effected in the monastic system of Burma by getting a number of Burmese monks trained in the disciplinary rules observed by the orthodox monks of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon. These foreign trained monks received patronage of the local kings but unfortunately these led to the division of the monks into two groups one of Ceylonese and the other of indigenous origin, the former getting preference over the latter. The fixation and unfixation of boundaries of a parish, the selection of site for ecclesiastical acts have to be done with minute formalities detailed in the Vinaya Piṭakas of both the Pāli and Sanskrit Schools. These led to trouble not only in Burma and Ceylon but also in ancient days in India.

The author being himself an art connoisseur has dealt exhaustively with the sculptures in Burma particularly with the Jātaka scenes. He has not spared pains to collect the literary achievements of the Burmese writers in the different periods of their history. His account of the intrigues, counter intrigues of the 16th and 17th centuries as also of the long controversy of the Ekaṃsika and the Pārupanas is lucid and interesting. No less interesting is his account of the services rendered by king Bodawpaya to the cause of Buddhism in the 19th century specially by his institution of the office of Saṅgharāja and Mahāsaṅgharāja and by the establishment of the Amarapura School in Ceylon for the reformation of Buddhism in that country. The author has included in his work the achievements of the latest kings of Burma and brought his account up to the advent of the British period. It is really a very long history and it reflects great credit on the author that his readers do not feel tired, so lucidly and charmingly he unravels the mysteries of the politico-religious movement of Burma from the 5th to the 19th century A.D. We trust this book will be welcomed by all students of India and we expect more works of this type from the pen of such an able writer.

N. Dutt

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GORKHA-VIJAYA: edited by Śrī Panchanan Mandal M.A.; published by the Viśva-bhāratī Granthālaya, 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta; Introduction+Text pp. 120+Appendices pp. 115+ Index.

People interested in the religious history of mediaeval India and particularly in Nāthism are to accord a hearty welcome to this edition of the *Gorkha-vijaya*, in Bengali, describing the doings of Gorkhanātha, the celebrated Nātha *siddha* or one of those mystics who tried in the early mediaeval period to harmonise Mahāyāna Buddhism with Hinduism. Gorkhanātha, or Gorakṣanātha, is traditionally the disciple of Mīnanātha, who is in one tradition the father of Matsyendranātha (Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain*, II, p. 237), and in some other places identical with Matsyendranātha, and, as Professor Tucci has very ably shown, the title *Matsyendranātha* or its synonym *Mīnanātha* was first given to Lui-pā and subsequently taken by some of his followers assuming the definite character of a title or appellative. If, therefore, tradition makes Gorkhanātha a disciple of Mīnanātha, the latter was only one of the some bearing this name or by-name.

The value of the edition, which is prepared from one MS. in the Viśva-bhāratī MSS. Library, is enhanced by collating it with the texts of the two printed Bengali works on the subject, viz. the *Gorakṣa-vijaya* and the *Mīna-cetana* and also of another MS. belonging to the Bengali MSS. Library of the University of Calcutta. The name of the author of the poem remains, as the editor tells us, unknown, all names that appear upon different MSS. being those of the different reciters of the *Gorkha* ballads. The appendices contain the texts of several rare tracts of the *Gorkha* or Nātha literature, while the *Index* is made to serve also as a good glossary. The *Introduction* of the editor is followed by another by Dr. Sukumar Sen, who sums up the story of the *Gorkha* poem and also recounts the main tenets of the Nātha *yogis* in his usual fascinating narrative style.

N. N. Das Gupta

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Vol. XXX, pts. I-II.

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.* In this instalment of the 'Studies,' the legal position of physicians in ancient India has been discussed under the main headings of 'Legal responsibility of physicians for improper medica' treatment' and 'Remuneration of physicians.'

P. K. GODE.—*The Date of the Advaitabrahmasiddhi of Sadānanda Kāśmīraka—Between A.D. 1600 and 1700.*

V. W. KARAMBELKAR.—*Gṅgādhara Kavi and his Works.* This is a brief description of various works of Gaṅgādhara, a voluminous Sanskrit author who lived at Nagpur in the first part of the 19th century.

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH.—*Vidic Gods : Rudra-Kālī.* The discussion about the conception of Rudra and Kālī in Vedic literature is concluded in this portion of the paper.

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*The Views of Jaimini and Śabara on the different Classes of Words.*

G. H. BHATT.—*The Literature on Gītā in the Śuddhādvailā School.*

G. B. PALSULE.—*An Interpolated Passage in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Five *Sūtras* (i.2 53-57) of Pāṇini dealing with लुप् and युक्तवद्भाव introduced in refutation of the views of his predecessors are held to be later interpolations mainly because they cannot be reconciled to Pāṇini's own position.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, vol. VII, pt. 1.

O. C. GANGOLY.—*Indra-cult versus Kṛṣṇa-cult.* In support of the thesis that the worship of Indra prevalent in ancient times had given place to a new cult dedicated to Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the paper discusses the significance of the story of Kṛṣṇa's holding aloft the Govardhana hill for saving the people of Vṛndāvana from a furious shower of rain, storm, and thunder that was caused by Indra, whose annual worship had been substituted by Kṛṣṇa by a new kind of festival in honour of the wooded hill. A plastic representation of the *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* (Pallava school) described in this connection clearly indicates the

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emergence of the Rādhā-cult as early as the 7 8th century at least, and some pictorial versions of the event (Kangra school) show also how the idea of Rādhā supplying energy (śakti) to Kṛṣṇa has later on caught the imagination of even the artists.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Dharma—its Definition and Authority*. The import of the term *dharma* has been discussed from the Mīmāṃsā point of view.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XVIII, pt. I.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Vedic Studies*. The discussion on the interpretation of the word *śuṣma* is concluded in this instalment of the 'Studies.'

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Śabara and the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Darśanas*. An analysis of the passages from Śabara's *bhāṣya* on the *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* shows his acquaintance with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika terminology and tenets.

HEM CHANDRA JOSHI.—*Udayana's Criticism of the Sāṃkhya*. It is held by all orthodox schools of Hindu philosophy that an individual's good or bad deeds produce in the *agent* in him an unseen quality called *adṛṣṭa* which regulates his retributive experiences. According to the Sāṃkhya school, the *Buddhi* is the agent as well as the substratum of this *adṛṣṭa* quality. It is again the *Buddhi* which experiences reward or punishment of an individual's deeds, and not the self or spirit as the Naiyāyikas believe. The paper discusses how this Sāṃkhya position has been refuted in the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* of Udayanācārya.

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO.—*The Country of Sapādalakṣa*. It is stated in the *Vikramārjunavijaya* of Pampa (10th century) that a king of the Vemulavāḍa branch of the Cāḷukyas Yuddhamalla I ruled the country of Sapādalakṣa. The fact is also mentioned in the Vemulavāḍa inscription of Arikesarin II and the Parbhaṇī copper-plate grant of Arikesarin III. It is surmised that this Sapādalakṣa or Savalakhkhe comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State, i.e., Nizamabad and a major portion of the Karimnagar district.

P. B. DESAI.—*The Bee-and-Spring Maxim*. The expression *ali-vasanta-nyāya* found in some inscriptions means that when flowers yield

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honey in the spring, the bees become active and take it away. The idea is that prosperous harvests attract claimants.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Dominions of the Śulkīs of Orissa.* The discussion here points to the fact that the Śulkīs being feudatories of the Bhauma-karas could not have reigned over wide territories. Their dominion appears to have comprised the Dhenkanal area together with some adjoining regions within Orissa.

—.—*New Facts about the Bhauma-Karas.* A copper plate inscription recording a charter of king Śubhākara II of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa contains the information that Śubhākara II was the son of Śivakara II, first son of Śubhākara I and the elder brother of Sāntikara I, from the queen Mohinīdevī belonging to the Bhāvanā-vaṃśa.

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. XIX, pt. 2
(September, 1950)

V. M. APTE.—*The Name : 'Indra'—an Etymological Investigation.* Indra with the name derived from *indh* represents a god of light and warmth in the *Ṛgveda.*

S. S. BHAWE.—*The Conception of a Muse of Poetry in the Ṛgveda. Sūryā* or *Sūryasya duhitā* is conceived in the *Ṛgveda* as the Goddess of poetry.

N. G. SHENDE.—*The Contribution of the Atharvaveda to the Upaniṣadic Thought.* The philosophy of the Brahman and Atman is said to have its origin in the *Atharvaveda.*

P. M. MODI.—*Philosophy of the Gītā—Does it make a Darśana?* According to the writer of this Note no system of philosophy has been taught in the *Gīta,* though philosophical doctrines are sometimes referred to in the *Gītā* in support of its main teaching of *Yoga* or 'disinterested action.'

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR.—*A Study in Mahābhārata Similes.*

J. S. JETTY.—*The Meaning of the Word Avyapadeśya in Nyāyasūtra, 1, 1, 4.*

G. V. DEVAṢTHALĪ.—*The Viṣkambhakas and the Praveśakas of Bhāsa.* Details of a dramatic plot that cannot conveniently be represented on the stage, are made known through the statements of characters appearing in a *Viṣkambhaka* or a *Praveśaka.* According to Bharata, the former speaks of some important matter connected with the main

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theme of the drama while the latter deals with some subordinate events. Bhāsa has in his dramas conformed to this notion of the original distinction between the two, though he has not observed the other conditions laid down by Bharata that a *Viṣkambhaka* should be placed only at the beginning of a drama.

S. MAHDIHASSAN.—*The Chinese Names of Ceylon and their Derivatives.*

INDIRA NALIN.—*The Legend of Pūruravas and Urvaśī.* On a consideration of the different versions of the legend of Pūruravas and Urvaśī, the conclusion has been reached that the legend 'cannot be merely a ballad, nor an allegorical representation of any atmospheric phenomenon, but appears to be essentially a ritual drama to be enacted with proper gestures during the dreary sessions of a sacrifice.'

H. GOETZ.—*Decorative Murals from Champaner.*

University of Ceylon Review, vol. VIII, no. 4 (October, 1950)

N. A. JAYWICKRAMA.—*Sutta Nipāta : Some Suttas from the Aṭṭhaka-vagga.* This contains critical notes on the Kāma sutta, the Aṭṭhakas, Jarāsutta, and the Māgaṇḍiyasutta.

C. W. NICHOLAS.—*Brāhmaṇas in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom.* The historical and epigraphic evidence shows that there were widespread settlements of Brāhmaṇas in ancient Ceylon. During the three centuries before Christ, the Brāhmaṇas had wielded much power and influence in Siṃhala, but in the succeeding three hundred years they gradually lost their numerical strength as well as social importance.

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